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HISTORY OF ANCIENT ART.

VOL. I.







THE  
HISTORY OF ANCIENT ART,

TRANSLATED FROM

THE GERMAN OF JOHN WINCKELMANN,

BY

G. HENRY LODGE.

WITH THE LIFE OF WINCKELMANN.

BY THE EDITOR.

VOL. I.



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UNIVERSITY  
OF  
CAMBRIDGE  
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THE  
DEDICATION  
OF THE FIRST VOLUME OF  
THE HISTORY OF ART  
IS A JUST TRIBUTE TO MY WIFE,  
MARY ELIZABETH WILLIAMS,  
AT WHOSE SUGGESTION THIS TRANSLATION,  
ORIGINALLY DESIGNED FOR MY OWN INSTRUCTION,  
IS PUBLISHED.



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# LIFE OF WINCKELMANN.

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## CHAPTER I.

### *Birth, Youth, and Years of Study.*

THE greatest connoisseur and teacher of the beautiful in plastic art was born neither beneath the delicious sky of the South, nor in the lap of wealth. Providence, which, for the accomplishment of its purposes, strikes out ways peculiarly its own, called him from the humble dwelling of a cobbler at Stendal. In this city, which lies in a valley surrounded by heights, and traversed by the Uchte, in the ancient territory of Brandenburg, Winckelmann saw the light, on the 9th of December, 1717, — his birth occurring only a year later than that of John James Barthélemy, at Cassis, in Provence, the amiable author of the *Travels of Anacharsis the Younger*, and the acute archæologist. It would seem as if these two congenial, lofty spirits were born within a circumscribed period of time, to throw a lustre on the age in which they lived.

Winckelmann received, at his baptism, the two surnames of John Joakim, though he made use at a later period only of the former, either because

the sound of the latter was too harsh, or from his preference for simplicity.

The earliest instruction received by Winckelmann was of the kind required for a citizen's life, and was furnished in the usual city school. His father, who employed himself solely in mending shoes, — either because he was not skilful in his trade, or because his means of procuring a supply of leather were scanty, — entertained no other idea than that of bringing up his son to the handicraft followed by himself. Consequently, it was difficult for the boy, who felt the impulse of a strong desire for study, to induce his father to approve his desire, and to throw aside the prejudice which prevailed at that time in Stendal, as it did elsewhere, that “not only the shoemaker, but also his son, must stick to his last, or even remain in a lower sphere of his trade.” But the father finally yielded to the repeated solicitation of the son, and allowed him to attend the Latin school. The young Winckelmann earned his tuition-fee at once, as he was received among the number of the choristers, and not long afterwards he endeavored, by means of the instruction which he gave to other children, — as, for example, to those of Herr Goldbeck, a member of the Supreme Court, — to earn enough to enable him to procure those books which were the most indispensable.

The early friends of Winckelmann unanimously agree that he was distinguished above all his school-mates by his unparalleled industry. This assertion we may the more readily believe, since it was not his parents, but an inclination arising directly from himself, and the awakening of his great talents, —

the only true guides, — which had set him on the path that leads to the temple of Minerva.

Neither the rare talent nor the unwearied zeal of the scholar, who, at some future time, was to become great in his department, was unobserved by his teachers; but in his case it was not only necessary to give him instruction, but also a maintenance. This was supplied to him through a misfortune which befell the rector, Isaiah William Tappert, a worthy and learned man. The almost total blindness with which this aged teacher was afflicted, brought about in a wonderful manner Winckelmann's first instruction in the sciences; for the old man took the poor but hopeful student into his house as his reader, amanuensis, and leader, and in return became his mentor in respect to his studies. In consequence, Winckelmann's progress in knowledge was so great, that he was pointed out to the other scholars as an example in the Latin and Greek languages.

The books of his blind benefactor were at his command, and, besides these, he also had the superintendence of the small school-library. In both he found, principally, Latin and Greek classics, which he did not let stand neglected; but, in addition to these, they contained a few volumes concerning the Adelich Ritterplatz, which had been lately opened, and to these he owed his first acquaintance with subjects of painting and sculpture.

The youthful sports of his companions are said not to have had much attraction for him; but when he was carried off by them, as it sometimes happened, he always put a book into his pocket, in order to furnish nourishment to his mind by the

perusal of it, whenever he had a convenient occasion of stealing away. During the winter it was his duty to accompany his schoolmates upon the ice, for the purpose of overlooking them; but, whilst they were driving about on its glassy surface, he was impressing upon his memory Latin and Greek words, noted down in a little paper book, which he carried about with him for the purpose.

Roman and Greek literature, history, geography, and archæology were his favorite pursuits, and he devoted many a night to them while in Tappert's house. Even at this time, he is said to have sought after Roman remains in the country about Stendal; and if it is true, that some of the urns found by him are still preserved in the school-library of that place, it is a refutation of Michael Huber's conjecture, that this story took its origin at the time when he had already become so distinguished as an antiquarian. According to all accounts, his desire to travel was excited at a very early age. Italy he wished to see, that he might study its antiquities and works of art; and, for the sake of visiting the lofty ruins of Egypt, he would have gladly consented to put on the pilgrim's gown.

In his sixteenth year (1733) he went to Berlin, for the purpose of pursuing his studies in the Cologne Gymnasium of that city. The rector Backe, to whom he was recommended by the excellent Tappert, gave him a lodging, and the pastor Kütze was kind to him in other ways. He mentioned this benefactor in a letter to Uden of the 29th of March, 1753, even after the lapse of thirty years, at which time he expressed his gratitude to him

through Professor Sulzer. When he had an opportunity, he attended the lectures, in this city, on the belles-lettres. As it became known about this time, that the library of the celebrated Fabricius, of Hamburg, was going to be sold at auction, he was seized with a strong desire to possess some of the admirable editions of Greek and Roman classics contained in it. He consequently undertook to go thither on foot, and on his route he called upon nobles, curates, and civil officers, to solicit a small donation. The valuable portion from the property left by the late scholar, which in this way fell to his lot, he painfully carried back to Berlin on his own shoulders. He spent a year, not longer, with teachers *ἀμούσους*, *uninstructed in the arts*, as he afterwards termed them; and then he returned, full of love, to his parents at Stendal. The aged, upright Tappert received him with open arms, and made him leader of the singing-choir, because the place yielded a little income.

In November, 1736, Winckelmann went to Salzwedel, to the school of the Gray Cloister, of which Scholle was at that time rector. In the catalogue of the pupils there, we find under the year 1736, "D. xv. Nov. Jo: Joachimus Winckelmann, natus annos xix." The reason of my recording this circumstance is, that, according to Doctors Uden and Fernow, he did not return from Berlin to Stendal till 1737. Two days in the week he was allowed his board in the family of Schuster, a printer of this town, in return for private instruction given to his stepson, Heller. It is not known how long he remained at this school, as no mention is anywhere



made of the time when he left it. From a letter to Cleinow, dated June 23, 1752, we get a knowledge of a few persons in Salzwedel, of whom Winckelmann ever continued to retain a favorable recollection from the time of his residence among them.

In March, 1738, Winckelmann entered the University at Halle, in the twenty-first year of his age. A small stipend which he received was not, however, sufficient for his support, and he was consequently obliged, in compliance with the wishes of his patrons, to allow his name to be inscribed on the list of students of theology, although he had a great dread of the lonesomeness of a curacy, whereby he should be shut out from intercourse with the learned. Besides, he thought that he could discover within himself a greater inclination towards the study of medicine. But, for the present, he could not withdraw his foot from the path; hence, he returned anew, very diligently, to the study of Greek literature, which he had already prosecuted for a long time with some predilection, "though there was little aid at hand in Frederickstadt; Greek works were dearer than gold." Herodotus, in particular, "he translated and explained as if he was inspired by a Genius." At the same time, however, he did not neglect the study of Hebrew. At Halle, his ardent desire to see Italy awoke in him stronger than before. In the mean while, in 1738, he made a journey to Dresden, the first inducement to which was probably the ceremonies that were taking place at that time on occasion of the marriage of the Saxon princess to the King of the Two Sicilies.

Although he was not well received by the Superintendent Löseher, to whose patronage he was recommended for aid in the more distant excursion, still he did not lose courage; but after his return he was continually considering the means by which he might succeed in visiting Italy and other lands. His desire was gratified, though not till a late period, even beyond his boldest expectation.

In February, 1740, he took his certificate as a member of the theological class. He remained, however, half a year longer in Halle. During this time he not only diligently set in order the unarranged library of Chancellor Ludwig, — after the latter had first tried him, and requested him to undertake the task, — but he also attended the lectures of Sellius, Hornius, and the Chancellor just named.

A pedestrian tour which he proposed to make to France, and even as far as Paris, probably falls within this epoch. Cæsar's description of the Gallic war, which he had read, had excited a desire to see with his own eyes the scene of the events narrated. But he did not get farther than Gelnhausen, in the vicinity of Frankfort; for when he came to consider the rashness of his undertaking, and the disorders of war which were breaking out in this neighborhood, he concluded to return. As to the story, that he not only designed to go to Paris, but even to Rome, and that, on the road, he gave it out in the Catholic cloisters that it was his intention to become a Catholic, — in which he was earnestly encouraged, — and to make in Rome his acknowledgment of belief, we will let it pass for what it is worth.

While on his return from his unfinished journey, an adventure occurred to him which he afterwards related to several of his friends. He was standing on the bridge of Fulda, and perceiving that his dress was in considerable disorder, he thought that, before he entered the city, he would put himself a little to rights, and in the first place would shave. At the moment he lifted the razor to his face he heard a sudden scream, proceeding from some ladies who were coming towards him in a coach from the other end of the bridge, because they thought that they perceived from Winckelmann's movement that he was going to cut his throat. When they came nearer, they ordered the carriage to stop, and asked him what he was about to do. He related to them plainly the unfortunate issue of his undertaking, and the condition in which he had arrived there. After he had satisfied their curiosity, they begged him to accept some money, in order that he might continue his journey with more comfort.

About this time he wrote several times, in vain, to the celebrated Professor Gessner of Göttingen, for the purpose of obtaining an office through his recommendation. In the year 1740, he accepted the place of teacher in the house of Herr von Grollman, riding-master in the Bredow regiment, at Osterburg, a mile distant from Seehausen. With this family he passed a year, together with a teacher of the French and Italian languages, and had reason to be satisfied with the noble treatment which he received.

Firmly resolved to study medicine and mathematics, he left the Grollman family, and attended the University at Jena. But here, in order to obtain the

means of supporting life, he was obliged to give so much private instruction, that he could scarcely find time to breathe. The advantage of his studies at this institution he himself limits to the benefit derived from Hamberg's lectures on literature. His stay was of brief duration. Before his departure, however, he employed all his time and diligence in learning grammatically the Italian and English languages.

After a brief residence at Jena, — in the spring of 1742, as it appears, — he directed his course to Berlin. While on his way, as he was tarrying a few days in Halle, he received an invitation, with favorable conditions, to undertake the instruction of the elder son of Upper-bailiff Lamprecht, of Heimersleben, or Hadmersleben, a small city two miles from Halberstadt. He accepted the proposal. Lewis von Hans, who had formerly been secretary of the Danish ambassador at Paris, a learned old man, was at this time living on his freehold estate in Hadmersleben. With him Winckelmann was on terms of friendly intercourse, and was furnished by him, in the most courteous manner, with works of history in the French language, which he had procured for himself in Paris. This was an uncommon help to his study of history, to which he had now devoted himself. While here, he twice read through Peter Bayle's *Historical and Critical Dictionary*, and made a large volume of extracts from it. After the lapse of a year and a half, Winckelmann received a call to be associate rector of the school at Seehausen, in Altmark. He accepted it, and likewise took with him his pupil Lamprecht and the son of Herr von Hans, in the autumn of 1743.

## CHAPTER II.

*He is Associate Rector in the School at Seehausen,  
in Altmark.*

FREDERIC EBERHARD BOYSEN, having this year been promoted from the situation of associate rector in Seehausen to the office of preacher in Magdeburg, was commissioned to select his successor to the place which he was leaving. He proposed Winckelmann, with whom he had become acquainted in Hadmersleben. It was not a fat office, yielding at the utmost two hundred and fifty thalers (\$193). Winckelmann however probably hoped — as we often deceive ourselves in hoping — to gain more time and leisure for his own studies. He undoubtedly believed that he should at least be enabled to give greater assistance than hitherto to his poor parents, to whom he was devoted with all the love of a tender son. In the latter point his belief may even have been borne out by the fact, because his board was given to him during his whole stay in Seehausen by the kindness of some of his friends.

We will, in the first place, consider him in his new sphere of action as a teacher, for he has been stoutly assailed on this side. No one was bold enough to find fault either with his abilities, his wealth of knowledge, his rare skill in communicating

instruction to youth in a clear, comprehensible, and agreeable manner, or with his humane system of management, which he, as a teacher of humanity, held to be the first duty of a preceptor. It was necessary to seek for other grounds of accusation, and his very talents and skill readily supplied the most fitting one for the purpose. He must have been an indifferent schoolmaster, and have neglected the obligations incumbent upon him as a teacher, for the very reason that he possessed great intellectual ability. Justus Riedel, editor of the Vienna edition of the *History of Art*, writes thus: "Winckelmann, with his head full of lofty views, must necessarily have presided over his pupils at Seehausen just as indifferently as Jupiter over the heavens, whilst Minerva was still an embryo in his brain." Is this, indeed, only an ingenious conjecture? Or was it necessary to introduce the first part of the sentence here, in order to carry out the beautiful comparison. However, let this charge pass; another, sent forth into the world by the man who had recommended the accused himself, is of a weightier character. Boysen, in his autobiography, asserts that, "without self-praise, — which never corrupted the good qualities he might chance to have, and which he could tolerate still less now, when walking in the shadow of death and drawing nearer to the rays of truth, — he did incomparably more for the sciences and literature in the school, during the year and a half that he acted as assistant rector, than was done in seven years by Winckelmann, his successor in the place, notwithstanding he was so highly and justly esteemed in the literary world." This is, in truth,



a large proportion, one and a half to seven. We will, however, correct it, by saying one and a half to five, for so long—not, indeed, quite so long—was Winckelmann in Seehausen. But by what means did the old man, Boysen, know so exactly how much was effected by Winckelmann in the school at Seehausen? since he himself was in Magdeburg. Did he happen to have correspondents so trustworthy? This would, indeed, be bad for us. We will not ask from him any proof of the accuracy with which he calculated the amount of his own merit; but he must not state the account for our Winckelmann; he has done that for himself. “I have enacted the schoolmaster with great fidelity,” he writes,—not, it is true, in the shadow of death, but in the maturity of manliness,—“and taught children with scabby heads to read their A B C, whilst I, during this pastime, was ardently longing to attain to a knowledge of the beautiful, and was repeating similes from Homer. In Saxony, I copied ancient records and chronicles, and the lives of saints, during the entire day, and Sophocles and his companions at night. But at that time I was constantly saying to myself what I still say at the present time, *Τέτλαθι δὴ, κραδίη, καὶ κύντερον ἄλλο ποτ’ ἔθλης*, ‘Courage, my heart! once thou didst endure a worse evil.’—*Me, qui ad juventutem erudiendam natus quodammodo videri possem, non labor, non tedium deterruit*, ‘I, who might seem born, as it were, for the instruction of youth, was discouraged neither by labor nor wearisomeness.’”

How do these statements of the two men look when compared with each other, one of whom seeks



to gain an advantage by detracting from another's merit, whilst the other honestly furnishes his house only with his own earnings?

This would be more than enough for Winckelmann's justification, — for the weight of his statement is more than equal to that of the other; but a fuller account of his activity in Seehausen, and indisputable testimonials, will do still more.

On taking possession of his office, he found that his pupils were yet not far advanced beyond the elementary principles of the Greek and Latin languages; and as their previous teacher, Boysen, had been an Orbilius, they were not only entirely deficient in taste, but also in love of the sciences. But he now aroused them from their drowsiness, through the beauty of his explanations, and the gentleness of his management. One great obstacle which stood in the way of his good intentions and his zeal could, however, be removed only by his indefatigable industry. The poorer scholars did not have the Greek authors whose works he wished to read with them, and so he frequently copied for them, with his own hand, the selected pieces. But in order that they might at the same time be practised in reading ancient handwriting, he also made use at a later period of the abbreviations and uncial letters, as they are found in the ancient manuscripts. There are still in the possession of Gurlitt of Hamburg an entire Anacreon, and several copies of a few odes by the same poet, beautifully written in this way by Winckelmann's own hand.

During the day Winckelmann devoted almost all his time to the school, and to a few private lectures

in geometry and philosophy. In the evening he gave instruction to his favorite pupil, Lamprecht, until ten o'clock, when the latter went to bed. Then, for the first time, he became his own master, and studied till quite midnight. About four o'clock in the morning he again resumed his studies, which were continued until six, from which hour, until school began, the young Lamprecht laid claim to him. During one entire winter he is said never to have got into bed, but to have slept away his hours from twelve till four in a reclining chair, in front of a table, which was enclosed on both sides by book-racks, in order that he might be able to commence his studies at once, early in the morning, without any loss of time. It requires Herculean strength to sustain so extraordinary an exertion; and his friends dissuaded him from this mode of life by every argument which could be made available.

The works which he preferred to read were the Greek authors, as many of them as he could possibly obtain. Sophocles he hardly ever put out of his hand; indeed, he had made so many emendations in his own copy, in innumerable passages, by remarks and conclusions extracted from the Scholia, and so corrected the punctuation, that he considered it would be valuable towards a new edition of the poet's works.

Another fruit of his industry while at Seehausen is the *Commentarii Variorum* on the sixteen *Satires of Juvenal*, and on the *Prologue* and first *Satire of Persius*. Of modern authors he read the good poetical and prose writers of France, Italy, and England; also Daniel's *History of France*, and Rapin's

*History of England*, — which latter he purchased, — Thuanus's *History of his Own Time*, and the *Annals* of Grotius. From the heaps of rubbish in the great *Zedler Lexicon* he collected, ant-like, everything which was useful to himself.

Still, however, Winckelmann was not willing to bury himself entirely among his books and in his school. Occasionally he made excursions, as, for instance, to Halle, and almost every year one to Leipsic. He improved the opportunity of the latter to clothe himself neatly again, in order not to be at all ashamed of going into the society of refined persons, — a personal attention of which men in his profession only too often lose sight.

For a long time Winckelmann was very well contented with his office and his situation; and I find no reason for believing that he had any great desire, previous to the year 1747, to go elsewhere. About this time the collision between him and the Inspector and Ephorus, Schmackenburg, must first have become violent. He could not preach, as his colleagues did; that is to say, although he was able to do so, and probably better than they, he had not prepared himself for the purpose. Instead of it, he was obliged, as associate rector, to be present every Sunday at church, and listen to the preaching of the Inspector, who fell so far short of good models. Winckelmann expressed his indignation on this point to several persons, and endeavored, afterwards, to edify himself, not from the Psalm-book, but from Homer or some other Greek work, which he thrust into his pocket. The Inspector was informed, not only of this, but also of Winckelmann's

opinion of his preaching, which some kind friends had secretly communicated to him. He, undoubtedly, rated the associate rector soundly for this, and made him feel the full weight of his office; but, in his violence, he also asserted, in addition, that Winckelmann did not understand a single Latin poet. Even in Rome, this reproach was brought to his notice, and hence he asks his friend Genzmar, "if the Inspector Schnackenburgh has not yet forgotten the assertion, after I have explained and amended so many Latin and Greek poets."

In a letter to Cleinow, Winckelmann mentions this Inspector with indignation: — *Herent infixi pectore vultus, quibus nobis insultavit homo umbra suberis levior, et omnium bipedum dignissimus, qui Sileno, stupidissimo Deorum, a clunibus sit,* — "I still remember the looks with which I was insulted by a man lighter than the shadow of a cork-tree, and, of all bipeds, the most worthy to be wiper to Silenus, the most stupid of the gods."

His stay at Seehausen was shortened, as he was not willing, on account of the unpleasantness of his position, to remain there any longer. The thought once passed through his head of going to England with his extensive knowledge of languages, and becoming a corrector of the press in a book-printing establishment. He felt his burden doubled. "I have suffered much; but nothing exceeded the servitude at Seehausen." He therefore wrote, on Easter-day, 1747, to the Abbot Steinmetz, of Closterbergen, for the purpose of obtaining a school there. Even the advice of Cleinow, Superintendent at Salzwedel, to make an application for the vacant office of associate

rector of the Lyceum at that place, was very welcome to him just at this time. He was invited, together with one Stein, to a probationary examination, and on the day designated he rode to Salzwedel. He made inquiry of the host of the house at which he alighted, as to the position of things, telling him that he came to the city on account of the co-rectorate. The host informed him in return, that a certain Stein, who was a native of the place, had also offered himself as a candidate, and would probably obtain the situation, because all the magistrates were favorably disposed towards him. As soon as Winckelmann heard this, he ordered his horse to be saddled again, and, without awaiting the test of an examination, rode back. Stein became associate rector.

The disappointment of his hopes in these quarters, and the recommendation of his friend Berends, to remain where he was, did not prevent him from trying every means of escaping from an association which was hateful to him, and to get into a sphere in which his literary talents would find a nobler and more extended field. Whilst on a short stay at Halle, he heard of the preparations going on and the work of different kinds contemplated by the Count von Bünan in his large library at Nötheniz, near Dresden, and on the 16th of June, 1748, he offered his services to him, in a letter from Seehausen. This time his expectation was not to be disappointed. The Count wrote to him from Dahlen, on the 1st of July, that, in addition to the two librarians already in his service, he was desirous of employing a third, in order to obtain an assistant



in making the compilations and extracts necessary for his *History of the Empire*; and he would give him the appointment if he would be satisfied with receiving, like the others, his board and lodging free, and a salary from fifty to eighty thalers (\$38.75 to \$62) annually, and would send him some further information in regard to his age, studies, and previous situations. Who was happier than Winckelmann? With the vivacity that was natural to him, he pressed the letter to his lips and his heart; he wrote in Latin a full account of his life; and he then determined, on actually receiving an invitation from the Count, dated the 20th of July, to hold himself in readiness to start without delay, and to arrive at Nötheniz some time previous to September, — although the Count still directed his attention to the difference between a situation for life, like that in Seehausen, and the temporary one which he would now receive.

Before his departure he also procured for himself three testimonials, — one from the General-Superintendent Noltenius, of Stendal; another from the magistrate of Seehausen; and the third from the Inspector Schnackenburg, of the same place. The librarian, Dassdorf, the editor of a portion of Winckelmann's letters, had all three certificates in his possession, and he assures us that they could have been given only to a man who had lived entirely up to his duty.

Having received the money for his journey, he took his way to Stendal, in order to see his father once again; it was the last time. To his friend Uden he intrusted all the books which he had acquired so laboriously, — because he should now find

others in abundance, — and begged him to sell them as favorably as he could, and out of the proceeds to remit a certain sum weekly to the dear old man, and, if he should die, to have him decently buried.

### CHAPTER III.

*He is employed in the Library of the Count von Büнау, in Nötheniz, not far from Dresden.*

THE Count Henry von Büнау was born in 1697, at Weissenfels, in Saxony. This experienced statesman had formed at his family mansion in Nötheniz, near Dresden, a library, of which, in regard to its completeness and beauty, it would not be easy to find an equal among all the private collections in Europe. Here, John Michael Franke, who was born at Ebersberg in the same year with Winckelmann, had already been employed as librarian since the year 1740. Although, according to his own expression, he had at the beginning known nothing more of a library than that it was a collection of many books, still he arranged that of the Count in the best manner, and rendered it celebrated "by a systematic catalogue of subjects, which, though an unsurpassable masterpiece, is yet, unfortunately, an incomplete one." Winckelmann was now working by the side of this man, who had the direction; each one, however, had his separate field. The new librarian made extracts for the next forthcoming part of the Count's *History of the Empire*, and, later in the day, worked upon the catalogue of the department of German history and the law of nations,—



*opus ingens ac diffusum.* Winckelmann observed towards his brother-worker a certain degree of reserve, and a courtesy without familiarity. He, in return, did the same thing, believing that a third person, who worked with them, must have said something to Winckelmann in disparagement of him. At length, as this want of confidence continued, although they met daily at table and elsewhere, talked of literary topics, and also often became very lively together, Franke took once a favorable opportunity to express the wish that Winckelmann would behave towards him in a free and open-hearted manner. This made an impression. They became more intimate. Winckelmann related to his colleague all the circumstances of his earlier life, and they formed a friendship which was permanent. This is the way in which Franke tells the incident. It may however be conjectured, with reason, from many passages in Winckelmann's letters, that Franke had been envious and jealous in regard to him, either because of the greater favor in which he was held by the Count, or because of his greater talents and more extensive knowledge. To whom else could be applied these words in a letter, "At present, I have no jealous cur to snarl at me." Nevertheless, Winckelmann acknowledges that Franke possessed merit, and capacity for friendship of the noblest kind. "When I call to mind the coolness of our intercourse, — an intercourse by which Nötheniz might have been rendered a paradise, — I recognize a counterpoise, which is allotted to everything human. To colossal talents, indolence is the drawback assigned; those who are born for friendship, and are capable of find-

ing in it the highest human happiness, — which it is, — set phantasms in the way, and thus do not experience from it the utmost content; we must seek for this in God alone.”

Even if a man is a librarian, still he is not always making extracts, is not always writing catalogues. As Winckelmann, notwithstanding the large number of hours which he passed in school, and in giving private lessons, still saved so much time, only too much, indeed, for his own studies, what would he not do now, now for the first time in the midst of literary treasures! The Greeks must come forth again, with Homer at their head. But as we find the records of a people to be the scantiest at the times in which they have enjoyed the profoundest peace and the fullest measure of happiness, even so Winckelmann also now withdraws himself, after the gloomy sea-days, almost entirely from our view, in order to enjoy, without disturbance, the pleasantness of his situation. At first, his occupations were so toilsome to him, through his desire to distinguish himself, and make himself acceptable to his master, that, in the first months, part of his hair became gray. The Count von Bünau showed him every mark of satisfaction and good-will. He writes to Uden: “No friend holds his friend dearer than my lord does me. His opinion of me is beyond the truth. All my conduct, all my work, was satisfactory, however little care I might have bestowed upon it. Even when I worked but little, still the Count believed that I was toiling for him without ceasing. Judge from this of my contentment and good fortune.”

He also soon found an opportunity of recommending one of the friends of his youth, and thus facilitating his future success. The tutor of the young Count von Bünau was not equal to his place; he was, consequently, provided with a curacy, and an attempt was made to obtain a man of better acquirements. Winckelmann proposed such a one in the person of Hieronymus Dieterich Berends, a native of Seehausen, with whom he had become acquainted at the University. Berends possessed much knowledge of various kinds, yet, when he needed it, Winckelmann gave him, in the evening, with the utmost kindness, instruction in the lessons which were intended for the young Count on the following morning.

As Dresden was near, Winckelmann often visited it, and gradually formed a connection with men of kindred minds and tastes, — as, for example, with Von Hagedorn, Counsellor of Legation, but mostly with painters and engravers. Through them he obtained access to the galleries of paintings and antiques, — an enjoyment which he had never experienced until now, and for which he was endowed by nature with the finest sense. In the mean time, however, he was constantly held in check by the pressure of his labors for the Count, so that he was unable to surrender himself to such an enjoyment and study as much as he desired. He may have often found it advisable to rehearse to himself his reasons for patience: “We ought to be like children at table, and take contentedly what is set before us, without even longing or grumbling, and act well the part which is assigned us, whatever it may be.” He plunged afresh into the depths of

his toils, and almost perished. His cheerfulness and strength failed, and exhausting night-sweats, with the consequent loss of refreshing sleep, supervened. He saw himself summoned so loudly by the voice of Nature herself to a change of air and mode of life, that he could not resist the call. "At last I have ceased to trust everything to my strength, and mindful of the proverb, *ὑγιαίνειν μεν ἄριστον*, *to be healthy is the best thing*, I shorten sail." In the year 1751, probably in the summer season, he made a journey, for the purpose of recruiting his health, into Altmark, where he stopped among his acquaintances in Salzwedel. On one occasion, having sat with his friend Cleinow until midnight, the latter, as usual, accompanied him, when he took leave, towards his residence. As the night was very bright and still, they walked backwards and forwards in the churchyard, across which their path lay, and Winckelmann complained greatly of his feebleness, and especially of his loss of sleep. Cleinow encouraged him to employ diligently all necessary means, and added, "If you are negligent in this respect, you will be one more added to the dead here, over whose graves we are walking." These words were not yet fully uttered, when Winckelmann fell upon his neck, and said, "Ah, my friend, do not speak of it!" And when Cleinow rejoined, "As it seems to be your opinion, that, after death, you have nothing to dread, nothing to hope," Winckelmann exclaimed violently, "Our friendship is at an end if you say another word on the subject." His mind, however, accustomed to occupation, drove him back to Nötheniz, from this journey of restoration, sooner than he had proposed.

At the end of February, 1752, he could no longer refrain from visiting his dear friend and pupil, Lamprecht, who was secretary to Colonel Retzow, in Potsdam. Of this journey he writes to Berends: "I did think of not letting thee know anything about it, being fearful that thou mightest begin to moralize to me; but I cannot hide it from thee any longer. I have made a journey to Potsdam to visit Lamprecht, who has not left me quiet a moment, by his constant writing. It has occupied me three weeks, less one day. I have enjoyed pleasures which I shall not again enjoy; I have seen Athens and Sparta in Potsdam; and am filled with reverential respect towards the godlike king. Of the astonishing works which I have seen there, I will tell thee more by word of mouth. From this journey, which has been pretty expensive, I have, however, derived some advantage, and it is this, — I am determined to establish myself in Rome on some footing or other."

## CHAPTER IV.

*Acquaintance with the Nuncio, Archinto, and the Confessor of the King. — Intention of Going over to the Romish Church, and of Travelling to Rome.*

WINCKELMANN, however, formed at an earlier date, in 1751, with Archinto, the Papal Nuncio at the court of the king of Poland, and afterwards cardinal, that acquaintance which had so important a bearing on his whole life. It happened that Archinto went to see the library at Nötheniz, and he felt himself compelled, not only to wonder at the knowledge of Winckelmann, who was his guide, but also to regret his sickly appearance and physical suffering. Full of sympathy, he advised him to change his situation, perhaps to try a journey to Italy, in furtherance of which he would render him all the assistance in his power. Besides the mildness of the climate, much would be found there, both in regard to nature and art, that would furnish food and recreation to a mind so superior as his. As it had been, for a long time, Winckelmann's most ardent desire to make a visit to this land, enriched with treasures of every kind, he was almost beside himself at the suggestion, and exclaimed that "Italy was the goal of his desire." The Nuncio invited him to become his guest frequently at Dresden.



Winckelmann did not fail to do so. In the society of Archinto he always met several Jesuits,—Catholic priests of an Order that was at one time extinct, but which is now reviving again,—who compose the court of a Romish Nuncio everywhere. Here, probably, the idea of his conversion to the Romish Church was first presented to him as a condition that would facilitate the execution of his design. Whether other artifices were resorted to, we do not know. But it is certain that he was also connected with the Jesuit father, Leo Rauch, the king's confessor; that he had been recommended by Archinto to the Cardinal Passionei, a man seventy years of age, who possessed a large library, as a learned person, and especially remarkable for his knowledge of Greek; that Winckelmann had expressed no reluctance to go over to the Romish Church, in case he went to Rome, and that hereupon, and by the advice of the Nuncio, Passionei had concluded, without any hesitation, to employ the German, as librarian, at a salary of three ducats (\$6) a month, and board free; but still, that nothing was said by Archinto, at the time, about these conditions. The Greek writing of Winckelmann, of which a specimen had been sent to the Cardinal at his request, pleased him so much that he seemed to have fallen quite in love with it. But in fact Winckelmann always wrote, not German only, but also Latin and Greek, with very strong, legible, and beautiful strokes.

The confessor of the king, Father Rauch, whom Winckelmann had hitherto regarded as an upright Jesuit,—what the result also proved him to be,—gave him positive assurance, on the indispensable

condition of his conversion, of an increase of salary during his stay in Rome. He also represented to him "that he would be more qualified to serve the world, and consequently more perfect; as a Christian, a more perfect Christian." Winckelmann now wrote to his friend Berends, who had already, in such a variety of ways, advised him against taking the step proposed, *Alea jactu est*, "The die is cast." We will let him tell in his own words how he sought to justify himself to a friend with whom he needed not to practise any reserve.

"Thou hast advised me as a friend, as a father may advise his children. Thy reasons, dictated by a heart full of tenderness and sincere loyalty, have convinced me more than was pleasing to me, that my conversion is a subject of much anxiety. But now recollect, my friend, that thou didst not spare any representation in order to detain me at Seehausen; there was almost as great hazard in leaving that place as there is in going to Rome. I was not unacquainted with myself; I knew that I possessed nothing which could please great men; *sola virtute armatus*, 'armed only with my courage,' I was leaving with confidence my native land. God permitted me to find favor in the eyes of my lord.

"I willingly own myself guilty of a love of change, with which thou dost reproach me only too often in all thy letters. *Nullum magnum ingenium [sine mixturâ dementiæ]*, 'Every great genius has some touch of insanity'; and it is only too true. *Illud magnum præfiscini dixerim, nec mihi arrogem*, 'Allow me to say *magnum*; in so doing, I do not arrogate any thing to myself.' He who wishes to rise must



forsake the common track. The wise men of antiquity travelled through countless lands in search of knowledge.

“My dear friend! thou knowest that I have renounced all pleasures, and have sought only for truth and knowledge. Thou knowest how hard it has been with me; I have been obliged to make a path for myself through want and poverty, through toil and distress. In almost every thing I have been my own guide.

“It is the love of knowledge, and that alone, which can induce me to listen to the proposal that has been made me.

“It is my misfortune that I was not born in a large city, in which I could have obtained an education, and had an opportunity of following my inclination, and of forming myself.

“The condition that cannot be dispensed with, *conditio sine quâ non*, that is the most important point. Eusebius and the Muses are, on this point, very much at odds within me; but the party of the latter is the stronger; and Reason, which, in such a case, should do the contrary, steps in as their ally. She is of the opinion with me, that we may look beyond and above some theatrical illusions; that the true worship of God is to be sought for in all churches, in all places, only among a few choice spirits.

“I believe that I am justified in understanding this project according to my own ideas and conscience, and so accepting it and nothing else. I do not hold myself bound to duties which go beyond reason.

“Therefore, I do not believe that I deceive the father by my mental reservations; I can defend them by the Jesuits’ own doctrines on this point, which are known.

“But man cannot deceive God. Our instinct is the finger of the Almighty, the first indication of his working within us, the eternal law, and the universal call; and thou and I must obey it, despite of all our reluctance. This is the open path before us, on which the Creator has given us Reason for a guide, and without her we should, like Phaëton, lose both reins and course.

“Duties which flow from this source unite all mankind together in one family. Herein, until the time of Moses, consisted the Law and the Prophets. The proof of the subsequent divine revelations is obtained not through the dead letter, but through the divine emotions which, as many believers have felt them, I also expect with reason to feel within myself, in still worship.

“Here thou hast a recapitulation of my creed.

“It cannot be denied that certain other duties, by which men divide themselves into many clusters, are apt to make hypocrites, *ne quid gravius dicam*, ‘to say nothing worse.’

“I have walked uprightly, and, since my academic years, as thou knowest, blamelessly; that is to say, in a human sense. I have been faithful without interest; I have labored without a likelihood of favor; God has given me life and prosperity.

“I have kept my conscience pure; how should I soil it, if some one who wishes to advance my interest compels me to give to him and his fellow-

believers an assent to things which are not based on divine revelation, but which, also, do not subvert it? I believe that I should sin just as little as a Professor at Wittenberg, who subscribes the *formulam concordiæ*, without having read it, or being willing to die on account of it, thinks that he does. He does it to become a Professor, and comforts himself with his reservation. My motives are still nobler and more disinterested."

The Cardinal Passionei wrote very urgently that Winckelmann should set out on his journey, but that he should first make a profession to the Nuncio. Father Rauch, and Archinto particularly, pursued this business as an affair of the heart; but Winckelmann always eluded it. He was startled at the word profession, notwithstanding his determination to be calm, and although he heard that it would be made quite privately to the Nuncio, in his cabinet. On this occasion he left Dresden with greater disquietude than ever.

He was most distressed by the fear of losing the friendship and favor of his dear Count, if he should listen to the invitation. He did not wish, however, to deceive him. He therefore wrote repeatedly to his friend Berends, at Eisenach, where the Count von Büнау was residing as Statthalter, and urgently begged him to disclose his intention to the Count as discreetly as possible, because he must, otherwise, find it out, especially since some one may have already applied for the situation in the library. Berends complied with the request of his friend. But Büнау could not, at first, have been in good humor on account of the conversion, for Winckelmann re-

plies to his friend, in a letter: "I did think that the Count was not a stiff orthodox, and that he would express himself in some measure to thee, since thou standest in such a relation to him. I did not believe that I should become, on account of my opinion, a subject of abhorrence to him." Afterwards, however, the Count and Countess expressed themselves in a much milder tone, as we learn from a letter of the 21st of February, in which Winckelmann writes, full of delight: "I am beside myself! My lord becomes greater to me, through his explanation, than he was before; and the dear, enlightened Countess, may God grant her many blessings and a long life! I could not have thought that they would think so liberally and so reasonably. Mark me, I shall keep my word; I will not quit so gracious a master. Station and honor are nothing to me; tranquillity and freedom are the greatest goods. I have so far become wise, that I know how to prize them. My gracious lord! I should like to kiss his footsteps. Praise God with me, dearest friend! May he prolong the Count's days and life! I am willing to serve him with body and life. God, who proves and searches me, knows that I write as I think."

The Nuncio now pressed him very urgently in regard to his profession; Father Rauch less so. It was intended that he should make it a few days after the 13th of April of this year, 1753. In objection to this, Winckelmann pretended a journey to Dahl, to which place his master, the Count von Bünau, was going, whom it was indispensable that he should see again before his departure for Rome;

moreover, in the time set for the ceremony of profession, the Jesuits made their exercises, as they term them, that is to say, their preparation for the Holy Week, during which it was not allowable for them to go out, not even to the Nuncio. Consequently, he obtained a postponement until the 1st of June. Father Rauch himself advised the delay; but the arrangement did not please the Nuncio, and he was particularly opposed to the journey, because he believed Winckelmann might be induced to change his mind. He did not, however, allow this belief to be noticed, because he entertained a very high esteem for the Count von Büchau.

Archinto — who, until now, to all Winckelmann's inquiries as to what the conditions were under which the Cardinal Passionei thought of employing him, had returned the evasive answer, "that he must, in order to tell them, read over his whole correspondence, which, by his journeys hither and thither, had got into confusion" — now, after his resignation, disclosed to him that Passionei had offered him three ducats a month, his lodging, also an increase of his salary in case of need, and to have a care of his future fortune. The Nuncio, likewise, went into a calculation with him, even to details, as to the cheapness with which a person could live in Rome.

But Winckelmann expressed to him his surprise at such an offer, and complained bitterly of it to Father Rauch, who instantly assured him of a yearly addition to his salary of a hundred guilders (\$40), and, under all circumstances, of assistance, when necessary, about which he might write boldly. This honorable offer prevented Winckelmann from break-

ing off the negotiation entirely, as he had already thought of doing. He now became bolder, and made inquiries of the father in reference also to the requisites for his journey. The confessor replied, "that he should be provided for richly and comfortably." In addition to ready money, Winckelmann also desired to have letters on a banker, to be used if he should chance to fall ill. But the father gave him for answer, "It is better to carry cash in your pocket."

Cardinal Passionei wrote letters to the Nuncio relating entirely to Winckelmann, and as though he were expecting a dear friend. "On his arrival he will alight directly at my palace, without first going to an inn. He, the Cardinal, in his capacity as *Segretario de' Brevi*, dwells opposite to the Papal palace. Winckelmann would be commodiously lodged there. He would lose nothing in leaving the Büнау library; his own was the largest in Italy, and one of the largest, perhaps, in the world; it contained three hundred thousand volumes,—choice works too. It was so well furnished with Greek manuscripts that he believed himself able to make additions to Father Montfaucon's *Greek Palæography*. It was, it is true, customary for those who were in the service of a cardinal to wear black and a narrow collar; yet in this respect Winckelmann should be at liberty to do as he pleased. But the garb would not bind him to the performance of any clerical duties, for, in Rome, even the advocates went dressed in the same manner."

Winckelmann was determined to travel; but, because every one in Dresden knew of his intended



conversion, and the people almost pointed at him with their fingers, he wished to be, until the final scene, at a place where no one knew him; and thinking that he could live at Potsdam, with his friend Lamprecht, at less cost and inconvenience than elsewhere, he proposed to go thither.

But, first of all, he wished to see again his friend Berends, and the Count. "Godlike friend!" he writes, "I must speak to thee; I must embrace the knees of my gracious master. He must bestow on me his blessing. I will not perform the last decisive act before I have spoken with him. Not till I have seen thee, my friend! and spoken to my lord, will I commit myself to the stream. Let happen what may, it is not for eternity!"

Notwithstanding his departure for Rome seemed so near, and a convenient opportunity presented itself of going in company with the singer Belli, still it was postponed two full years.

The severity of his labors in the library, his disquietude, anxiety, and sorrow in regard to the opinions of his friends, acquaintances, and the whole world, if he should take so strange a step as he intended, had exercised so unfavorable an effect upon his health, that he failed daily; and his early trouble, the night-sweats, which had become infrequent, again came on, in spite of the severest diet. They occurred early, in the first sleep; by midnight, he was obliged to change his night-shirt; the sweating was renewed, but the attack was less violent. His digestion began to be exceedingly weak; for more than three months he drank no beer, and during a considerable time he ate meat only once a week, until, at

length, he gave it up entirely. Still, however, the disease would not yield; he was forced to adopt the milk-treatment, ate only vegetables, and frequently only a water-soup.

To these unpleasant circumstances there was joined, moreover, a misunderstanding between him and Lamprecht. This youth had been moulded by him, with the utmost pains and solicitude, after his own heart; he lived and slept with him, at Seehausen, in the same chamber; to him, undoubtedly, is directed the tender letter which, without any superscription, occurs among the earliest of the chronological collection. Winckelmann supported him to the best of his ability, as his father's circumstances had become limited; he wished to maintain with him a friendship as noble and lofty as that of which Toxaris furnishes an example, in Lucian's *Dialogues*; he felt himself thrown into agitation at once, if he thought he had cause to be dissatisfied with his friend. At one time he writes: "I am constantly learning more and more of the badness of man's heart. He has seen me for the last time. May the remembrance of him be annihilated within me!" At another: "Lamprecht has, at length, brought it to such a point, through so many of his fine Potsdam tricks which he has used towards me, that I begin to despise him. I have deserved to find a better heart. *But to desire gratitude is almost the same as to merit ingratitude.*" And again: "I shall, at last, begin to be prudent in regard to friendship. I am cured of my passion, and shall not again blunder into any folly of the kind." But scarcely is the first ebullition over, scarcely has he received a token of friend-



ship from Lamprecht, than he is again captivated, both body and soul, by him; he wishes to live only for his advantage; he only wishes to promote his friend's prosperity. For his sake, he would be willing to abandon his journey to Rome, his strongest desire; for him, not for himself, he would wish to avail himself of the favor of the Elector. But to this flood there again succeeds an ebb; and in this manner he undulates constantly back and forth; yet, even at a late period, in Rome, Winckelmann thought of his friend with much anxiety, on account of the war. "I cannot do otherwise than take an interest in the misery which has befallen this, my beloved country [Saxony]. But my heart is divided between gratitude and friendship; and if my eyes weep for the land from which good fortune comes to me, my heart suffers on account of a friend who is in the closest attendance on the destroyer. I could not wish any evil to the king [of Prussia] without soon afterwards repenting of the thought from love to my friend; a friend whom I have created, educated, on whom I have expended the energies of my fairest years, and whom I have taught to taste the lofty happiness of an heroic friendship, which few only have known, and then too late. I lived but for him, in order to die by him; perchance only the memory of him still survives!" When, in the year 1760, he promised his friend Muzel-Stosch, of Berlin, to write notes, explanations, and emendations to the French *Description of Engraved Gems in the Cabinet of the Baron von Stosch*, in the Italian language, for the king of Prussia, if the latter should purchase the cabinet in question,

he adds: "My first, and perhaps sole, view in this would be, that I might thereby be enabled to assist my former friend, and my first and sole love, Lamprecht. And this view is so disinterested, that I do not even know where and how he is situated."

We shall, however, return several times, hereafter, to this peculiarity in Winckelmann, and find an opportunity to explain it.

However disagreeable, therefore, it might continue to be to Winckelmann, not to be able, under the circumstances mentioned above, to pass some time in a strange place where he would not be known, still he was forced, by the want of money, to continue at Nötheniz, and renounce his journey to Potsdam. He believed, indeed, that a change of air and of feelings would have been more effectual than any severe diet; he even ascribed most of his present bodily debility to the sorrow and vexation which had attacked him in a manner so indescribable, because Lamprecht did not wish to see him at Potsdam. But we have already seen that many enemies had conspired together to undermine his health.

He was almost induced to resolve to cease to be the friend of any one. He discontinued his visits to the Nuncio for a year and a day, from Easter, 1753, to Easter, 1754. He was still, it is true, on terms of friendship with Father Rauch,—who was, indeed, his refuge; but still he could not pour out all the feelings of his heart to him.

He was forced to seek the recovery of his composure by reading and labor, since even his walks made the idea of his isolation only more frightful. Habit becomes another nature; in spite of the bad state of

his health, he did not find himself hindered, at the time, either in his employments or his studies. He even wonders that he began to read, the ancients in particular, with an entirely different insight. "I have read Homer alone three times this winter" (1753-54), he says, with all the application required by so divine a work. Hitherto, I have tasted him almost in the same way as they do who read him in a prose translation." His extracts, relating mostly to history and art, increased much; he gave to them a better arrangement than they had hitherto had; he wrote them very neatly, and valued them as a great treasure. About this time he had, likewise, studied with great diligence natural philosophy, medicine, and anatomy, and had also formed a collection, small indeed but rare, of special notices, observations, and select works.

## CHAPTER V.

### *His Conversion to the Roman Church.*

AFTER staying away for a year, Winckelmann at last, about Easter, 1754, again made a visit to the Nuncio, Archinto, for the purpose of taking leave of him, for it was said that he was going to depart shortly. Archinto entirely disconcerted him by the display of his manners; he was about to fall upon his neck, and he said to him, as he pressed his hands constantly within his own, "My dear Winckelmann, if you follow me, if you go with me, you shall see that I am an honorable man, one who does more than he promises; I will make your fortune in a way of which you yourself have no conception." These words made no impression on Winckelmann; he alleged that he had a friend whom he could not forsake; he related the origin of this friendship, and said that he would decide if he could see how his friend's interest could be promoted, for he hoped to be able to take him with himself; besides, he was engaged upon a task which he was bound, as an honorable man, to complete. Winckelmann, on taking his leave, was obliged to promise to come again, and Archinto moreover said to him, "My dear friend! I must say to you sincerely, that you have produced an unfavorable im-

pression of yourself and myself near the royal authority, to which I recommended you, at the time, in the best manner, and said everything in your favor."

Winckelmann allowed a whole month to pass before he went again to see the Nuncio. An inexplicable restlessness had taken possession of him; he wrote occasionally to Potsdam, in order to arouse his friend Lamprecht; but as he believed, at last, that he had nothing further to hope from him, and as he was well satisfied that his health could be restored in no other way than by a change in his feelings and residence, what was to be done? He also represents his position to his friend Berends in the following terms: "I see no favorable opportunity before me (ponder it well!); no retreat is any longer left me; I cannot earn my bread in any decent way, if the Count should die, since I am unable to speak a single foreign language; I do not like the place of a schoolmaster; I am not fit for the University; my Greek also is of no use anywhere; and where are librarian's situations? If Franke should be able to get employment in the new filling of the offices in Weimar, I must necessarily remain from gratitude."

In this position and frame of mind he went to the confessor of the king, and begged him to state to the Nuncio that he was willing to make a confession of faith privately to him, but that he had no intention of journeying until he had completed his task in the library.

The joy of the Nuncio at his first conquest of this kind was extraordinary. The ceremony was performed on the 11th of July, 1754, in his chapel, where he appeared in his pontifical robes, accompa-

nied by two priests of the nunciature, and by the confessor of the king, as an assistant. The confession of faith was according to the usual formula prescribed by Pius IV., which is appended to the canons of the Council of Trent, in every edition.

After the ceremony, the Nuncio, with Father Rauch and Winckelmann, went into his cabinet, where the earlier promises were renewed to the proselyte. Archinto said, "I shall mention you to their Majesties, the king and queen; and you, most reverend Father (Rauch), will, when he is able to start, seek from the king the sum required for his journey, which I also will do." "You," he said to Winckelmann, "are known to the electoral prince, and you may be assured of every protection and aid, even from the whole royal family. I will earnestly recommend you. Reverend father, since I am compelled to depart, do you take care of his body. He must go through a course of treatment before we lose him." Winckelmann said, "I shall only injure your credit, if the electoral prince or any such person should attempt to speak to me." "You must give yourself some relaxation from your work," replied Archinto; "you have not yet enjoyed repose. You will acquire confidence, if you have agreeable society."

The step which Winckelmann had at last completed, he announced with a saddened heart to his friend Berends, in the words of the Psalmist, "When I wished to keep it secret, my bones wasted. My brother! I have at length taken the unhappy step, which I evaded, a year ago, with difficulty."

To the Count of Büнау he wrote, on the 17th of September: —



“I cannot, and must not, conceal from your Excellency, that I have taken up again my last project, and have, alas! made the final step.

“Noble Count! I have made myself unworthy of further patience on your part with me; but I entreat you, whose heart is full of goodness and grace, at least to listen to me. May God, the God of all tongues, nations, and sects, cause you again to feel compassion!

“A certain mode of thinking and acting, from which I should find it difficult to depart, seems to forbid me from following, in a commonplace way, paths profitable to myself. I believe that your Excellency has been informed by me on this point.

“Besides these principles, (I must here speak with your Excellency as with my best friend,) I began, very early, to prize friendship, the loftiest of all human virtues, as the greatest blessing after which, according to my idea, man can strive; not the friendship which Christians are bound to practise, but that which is known only in some few immortal examples of antiquity. This happiness is unknown to the great in the world, because it can be acquired in no other way than by the renunciation of all selfish and extraneous views. It demands a philosophy which shrinks not from poverty, misery, age, even death itself; —

‘Non ille pro caris amicis  
Aut patria timidus perire’;—

and I hold my life as naught without a friend, who is to me a treasure which cannot be purchased too dear at any price. My change has in view this great principle, as a witness to which I appeal to eternal truth.

“If any one, besides my friends, should have learned to know me even to this particular, I believe that he would be convinced that I speak the truth.

“In the next place, the shortness of life and the very narrow limits of our knowledge are two points from which a man, — at least, one like myself, — who has passed his youth in poverty, and the years in which we are most capable of feeling in unceasing toil and long isolation, and who has, at last, enjoyed the good fortune of learning to know those writings in which sound reason, without the far-fetched learning of the present day, — which oppresses the former, — and the true wisdom of man, were first elucidated; — from this twofold consideration, a man like myself, in whose way stands neither birth nor rank, should, I say, be cogently taught that life is too brief for him to design for the first time in the latter half of it a plan of his future fortune, so called, and that, if we take into consideration our reason, which has been bestowed upon us for a use far nobler than that to which it is commonly applied, it would be an almost criminal vanity to occupy it, even until old age, almost wholly with things which keep only the memory in exercise. Inasmuch as I have already passed my thirty-sixth year, I believe that these considerations have become mature and fixed within me.

“For many years I have sought to cultivate two friends, one or the other of whom will certainly receive me hereafter. To make this course easy to my friends, and, so long as it pleases fate or myself, to provide for my few wants in a manner conformable



to my friends' future position, I might, if everything else should fail, seek an opportunity of instructing young persons of rank, — an easier mode of providing for myself. For the world is more than overstocked with persons who write books to earn their bread. This cannot readily happen without superior facility in the two current foreign languages. A knowledge of the ancients appears to youth a path overgrown with thorns and thistles, — as it in reality is. If it were possible for me to stifle that idea of friendship which has become excessive with me, or should my friends already enjoy their destined good fortune, I might believe that I was able to find by myself that of which I have need. *Pauperiem sine dote quero*, — ‘I seek poverty without a dower.’ But, at present, I must strive to hold myself prepared for a possible chance, like a man who is forced to say, *Dextra mihi Deus!* — ‘My right hand is my God!’

“I do not allow myself to think of presenting myself personally to your Highness; but, nevertheless, I hope that the heart, filled with love of man, which has graciously overlooked my many errors, will yet, finally, judge of me at least as a man. Where is the man who always acts wisely? The gods, says Homer, ever give to mortals their apportioned share of reason only on one day. The plan which I have formed for myself, considered from one point of view, may appear foolish, hazardous, and, to many, impious and abominable. An enlightened eye, with which your Excellency, after the likeness of the Deity, is accustomed to look upon things as a whole, will easily be able to find excuses for me. Shame

and sorrow do not permit me to write more. I believe that an everlasting reward will be the great recompense of your Excellency."

In this letter to the Count he also falls at his feet, — an expression which, from Winckelmann, is not to be regarded as too deep humiliation, but as the outpouring of a heart filled with love and esteem for Bünau. In a similar manner, he often embraces the knees of his friends, or kisses their footsteps.

Here we have not only the honest narrative, but also Winckelmann's own explanations of an act which always produces a sensation so much the greater, in proportion as the persons who perform it are judicious, learned, and celebrated. Although the time had passed by when the right was supposed to exist by which any one who had seceded from the church community of which he was a member might be subjected to all kinds of insult and ill-treatment, still there were given the most singular accounts of his conversion; but the correct explanation, however simple it was, did not make its appearance anywhere. Paalzow, his former colleague at Seehausen, thought he had been seduced by the perusal of pagan writers. Nidel ascribes the change, in some measure, to the study of the Church fathers; but Winckelmann had never taken a fancy to this. His old friend, Dr. Uden, of Stendal, would find the ground of it in his indifference to all religions, arising from the perusal of the writings of the free-thinkers of England, especially of Tindall; Morcelli, as it appears, in actual conviction; and Gurlitt, in the ill-health under which he suffered. An anonymous person, of whom Huber makes mention, has

come the nearest to the true explanation, for he says: "Winckelmann would even have become a Mahometan, provided the rite of circumcision had been performed with a Greek knife, and connected with a promise of having permission to make excavations in Olympia."

If any one should now be unable to perceive that Winckelmann, from his own conviction, looked upon Christian confessions as quite an indifferent consideration for himself personally, and that he, consequently, went over to the Catholic Church without any inner summons, let him listen further to what he once wrote to his friend Berends: —

"My father, as I now begin to perceive, had no wish to make a Catholic of me; he made the skin of my knees altogether thinner and more sensitive than one must have it, to be able to kneel Catholically with a good grace; he ought to have lined it with a piece of his buffalo-hide knee-strap. In the winter I have placed my muff beneath them; in the summer I shall merely be obliged to carry with me a pair of fencing-gloves, in order to kneel devoutly.

"I notice that I am still very deficient in many things necessary to salvation. When I ought to make the sign of the cross with my right hand, the left thrusts itself forward, to the great vexation of those who are near me."

He who writes upon any subject in this manner, and with expressions still freer, — which are too petulant for me to introduce them here, — cannot be seriously occupied by it. I must present the life with its peculiarities as they actually existed, otherwise I should omit much at which weak-minded persons

would take offence. But the laws of biography require truth, and Winckelmann, likewise, wishes it. "Do not state anything," he writes to Muzel-Stosch, who was going to write the life of his uncle, "which is not well founded, and which many men know better. If the *Life* is well written, let the truth appear in it also. The goodness of a thing consists in this, that it is what it is, and what it ought to be."

I have asserted that Winckelmann regarded Christian confessions as quite an indifferent matter to himself. The inward struggle to which he was subjected for a long time previous to his conversion might be cited in contradiction of this opinion; for it might be inferred from this struggle, that, in his religious views, he was at variance with himself. But history teaches it, and my own experience enables me to say, that far other things than discord in opinions make the final step slow and difficult. The conviction, that the persons whom we most love and respect are much offended and angered; the idea, that we are, in a certain measure, regarded as dishonorable, in conformity to the ideas which are necessary to the permanence and temporal success of each religious party; and, finally, the pleasing bands of habit, from youth upward; — these are the disturbers of the inward repose and the instigators of the conflict even with men from whose eyes each cloud of doubt has disappeared. Winckelmann found in his situation an alleviating advantage of rare occurrence; he now had neither parents nor near relatives, and he never had a sister. "In you," he is writing to Muzel-Stosch, "I have, as Andromache said to Hector, at the same time a loving father, a trusty brother, and whatever else is

dear to the heart, seeing that I have no relatives in the world, — which is probably an unprecedented instance.” On one occasion, he asserted to the Baron Erdmansdorf, in a conversation at Settuno, “that he should not have persuaded himself to go over to the Catholic Church, if his mother, or near relatives, had still been living, for fear of occasioning them sorrow.” If Winckelmann in this statement even deceived himself, still his declaration is a beautiful trait of the tenderness of his feelings.

## CHAPTER VI.

*A Year in Dresden. 1754-1755.*

IN the early part of the month of October, 1754, Winckelmann left his employment in the service of Count von Büнау, of Nötheniz, and went to Dresden, where he hired a lodging for six thalers a month; but within a short time he went into the house of his friend Oser, the painter, in Frauen Street, and was contented with a single chamber, at two thalers and twelve groschen a month, because he had reason to economize. The character of this painter is given by Winckelmann himself in the following manner: "Oser is a man of the greatest talent for art; but he is lazy, and there is no public work of his hand existing. His drawing is deficient in the severe precision of the ancients, and his coloring is not sufficiently mellow. He has the pencil of Rubens, but his drawing is much nobler. His intellect is large and prompt, and he knows as much as one can know out of Italy. He is a true follower of Aristides, who depicted the soul, and painted for the understanding."

Winckelmann also became more closely acquainted with Bianconi, of Bologna, an Aulic Councillor and physician in ordinary of the electoral prince of Saxony, a man "who was endowed with the keenest cun-



ning of an Italian, and who, from his universal intelligence and extraordinary talent, was in a position to accomplish everything with men." Every evening he collected at his house a circle, from which all pedants were excluded, and with which Winckelmann almost always met. But Bianconi was not pleased if he saw him, with the other persons present, take his departure before the evening repast. On this account Winckelmann often supped there. He hoped to be able to be of assistance to the physician, because the latter had begged him to help him in his studies, which, after several years' neglect, he now wished to resume again. But it became apparent afterwards, and only too soon and too clearly, that Bianconi would have liked to plough with another's ox. On the second day, indeed, he proposed to Winckelmann to undertake, for his gratification, a new translation of Pindar and his scholiasts. But as he did not succeed in this, he suggested an absolutely literal translation of the Greek physician Dioscorides, from which he himself, as he did not understand Greek, would prepare an elegant paraphrase. In order to give the work especial value, the Greek Codex of Dioscorides, in Vienna, — which is more than thirteen hundred years old, and has never, even to the present time, been used in preparing an edition of this work, — should be collated. But as this task would require a long time, he wished to retain Winckelmann near himself, and to procure for him a small pension. Finally, he proposed to him to make a translation of a small work, *De Morbis Mulierum*, "On the Diseases of Women," by the Greek physician Moschion. But Winckelmann was now weary of requests, and

declined all tasks of such a kind, and discontinued his visits to Bianconi.

He practised drawing several hours every day, and he studied otherwise with extraordinary diligence, obtaining from the royal library the books which he needed. He felt well and contented, although he needed many things. On the return of the court from Warsaw, the king's confessor made no mention of money, of which Winckelmann had so urgent need; and he was determined to persevere until the last farthing, in order that it might not be said of him that he begged. In January, 1755, Father Rauch at last began to open his gentle hand, and he counted out to his Winckelmann ten ducats (\$ 20), his allowance until February, when he again received the same sum. "There is very great indigence everywhere," he writes, "and greater here and elsewhere than it is really believed to be." There was no probability that he could indulge a hope of obtaining a pension from the court, as at an earlier period he had expected; he received nothing except a recommendation to the General of the Order of Jesuits in Dresden, which was procured for him by means of the royal confessor. In this state of uncertainty he believed, all at once, that he had discovered a surer way, which would lead him, in Dresden itself, to a decent maintenance, and by degrees even to a rich one, if he should not find himself contented at Rome. He nowhere states what it was; but it is probable that he intended to turn his attention to lectures and instruction in history. There was a party which appeared to desire a course of lectures of this kind; and Winckelmann on this account submitted to a few



connoisseurs the manuscript of a treatise *On Oral Exposition of Universal Modern History*. But every one was too drowsy. Besides, Winckelmann was very uncertain in what way he should secure to himself a subsistence, after his stay at Rome, which he estimated at two years. At one time he relied on the word of Father Rauch, to obtain the situation of Constantine, the royal librarian, — a man of seventy years of age, — with an annual salary of five hundred thalers (§385). At another time he hoped to procure an office by means of Greek literature, which was valued by the electoral prince, and in which no one in Dresden was skilled. Bianconi, whom he visited again, once more laid his plans to retain him near himself; and he adopted turns so ingenious to accomplish his end, that nothing of the kind had ever occurred to the honest Winckelmann. A studied coldness, and caution to prevent Bianconi from doing him any injury, were the weapons with which he opposed these arts. “I will give a loose rein to my destiny,” he thought at last; “the best years of my life are past; my head is becoming gray; and it is not worth while to take too much thought about the dregs of my life; they do not deserve it.”

He had already passed the thirty-seventh year of his life, and the world had not yet seen any public proof of his learning; whilst Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, twelve years his junior, had appeared, since 1746, in epigrams, odes, and comedies, and even within the last two years had written *The Vademecum for the Pastor Lange; The Defence of Lemnius, Cochleus, Cardanus, and Horace; Pope, a Metaphysician*; and his *Miss Sarah Sampson*. Thus

differently do time and circumstances bring talent to maturity. The first work of Winckelmann, *Thoughts upon Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture*, appeared in May, 1755, in quarto. It is the fruit of great reading, and of study into which he was not, as Heyne erroneously asserts, "accidentally thrown," but which he had already for a long time selected from preference, and cultivated with diligence. He understood the character and tendency of his talent; and this was the reason why, two years and a half before, he wrote to his friend Berends, "God and Nature have intended to make me a painter, a great painter; and if I were to become a curate, I should become so in defiance of both. At present, I am spoiled both as a curate and a painter. But my whole heart clings to the knowledge of painting and antiquities." Who is there that, on reading this passage, does not remember what Lessing, in his *Emilia Galotti*, put into the mouth of the painter Conti: "Do you suppose, prince, that Raphael would not have been the greatest genius among painters, even though he should, unfortunately, have been born without hands?" Winckelmann is an illustration of the fact; though he possessed no great dexterity in art, yet he was born its favorite, and certainly had just as much talent for it as Raphael.

It was Winckelmann's first intention, in commencing this *Essay*, at the request of an acquaintance, to give it to a petty bookseller, in order to assist a monthly publication. Afterwards he showed it to Father Rauch, who heartily encouraged him to let it be printed, the expense of which he promised to

bear himself. Winckelmann had thought of dedicating it to him, but the confessor did not accept the honor, modestly declaring, "that the essay would be too fine for him, and it must seek some one who could promote its success." Upon this Winckelmann was going to publish it without a dedication. But when he solicited from the minister, Count von Brühl, a dispensation from the censorship, in order that the essay might not lose its novelty, he was advised by him to write a dedication to the king. The king, to whom mention was made of this intention, graciously gave his assent to it, and the essay was presented to him by the minister himself on the first day of Whitsuntide. It brought, however, to its author—who, though poor, and printing it at his own expense, would not allow more than fifty copies to be struck off, in order that it might be rare—no other advantage than that of promoting his views. Among connoisseurs the work met with incredible approbation; every one was astonished at the boldness, in particular, with which it assailed the taste which, at that time, so generally prevailed in Dresden. Even the taste of the king was attacked in the following passage, which referred to the palace of Hubertsburg: "Armor and trophies will always be as inappropriate to a hunting-lodge, as Ganymedes and the eagle, or Jupiter and Leda, among the reliefs on the bronzed doors at the entrance of St. Peter's Church in Rome." From the want of more copies, the treatise was transcribed, and the bookseller Walther received from Father Rauch permission, against Winckelmann's wishes, to publish a larger edition; but his intention was frustrated by the author.

The value of this treatise consists principally in showing, — 1st. The probability, carried to the highest degree, of the superiority of nature among the Greeks; 2d. The refutation of Bernini; 3d. The superiority of the ancients and of Raphael, which was now, for the first time, fairly brought to view, and which no one had, as yet, recognized; 4th. The making known the valuable antiques in Dresden; 5th. The modern way of carving in marble.

In the *Essay*, he intentionally avoided all proofs of his assertions, even in cases where they were needed, — from a little bit of roguery, to bother the wiseacres. But, as this purpose cannot now be any longer attained, I have in every instance given the citations.

The three engravings which accompany the *Essay* were devised and etched by the painter Oser, Winckelmann's friend. The first represents the sacrifice of Iphigenia, at Aulis, which Timanthes once painted; the second, the Persian, Sinætas, presenting to his king, as he passed by his cottage, a handful of water, because he had nothing else, and it was not allowable for any one to appear before the Persian ruler with empty hands; the third, Socrates, with a portrait-head borrowed from gems, in the act of working upon his three draped Graces, which were still standing, in the time of Pausanias, in front of the entrance of the Acropolis, at Athens; the water-tank is an accessory, as Winckelmann supposes.

Several translations of this *Essay* appeared, and the criticisms upon it were extremely favorable; for example: "We know no work written in this style;

in expression it is earnest and terse; not a word is to be found which is unnecessary. No one can ever study it without discovering new beauties in it, and learning something from it."\* Klopstock writes: "Winckelmann is too well known to the lovers of the fine arts to need anything to be said by me in his praise. It will not, however, be superfluous to put a few others in a condition to estimate him rightly. Besides this object, I have still another, that of testifying to him my approbation by criticism. I am well aware that, for the purpose of giving a right value to this kind of approbation, reviews must be yet harsher than I am able to make them; still, however, mine will show to the great connoisseur how much his works have interested me."

Gottsched also furnished a review; but Winckelmann, to whom it was not a matter of indifference who was the critic, says, "He ought to have praised less, and to have had a better knowledge of his subject."

He himself, in an anonymous letter, assailed *The Thoughts upon Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture*, and immediately defended himself in an *Explanation of the Thoughts, and a Reply to the Letter*. The former of these two letters he prepared while still in Dresden; but the latter, in Rome; and the three were published together at Dresden, in a new edition, in 1756. Now the quotations are not spared; everywhere there are manifest extended reading, a fine, correct taste, and the germ

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\* Biblioth. der schön. Wissensch., Th. I. St. 2. S. 347. The review is probably by Weisse.



of future productions. If, in Montesquieu's *Persian Letters* we already perceive the earliest ideas of his later *Spirit of Laws*, so in the earliest writings of our author we also find the commencing lines of his grand drawings in the *History of Art*.

On the 20th of September, 1755, Winckelmann set forth on his long-desired journey to Rome. Through the foresight of Father Rauch he was well provided, and was furnished with about eighty ducats (§160) to defray his expenses on the road. He intended that his stay in Rome should continue for two years, during which he was to receive annually from the king, through the hands of his confessor, two hundred thalers (§144), or three hundred and sixty guilders.

His route from Dresden was by way of Eger, Amberg in the Upper Palatinate, Regensburg to Neuburg on the Danube, in an extra post-carriage, accompanied by a young Jesuit, named Roos, whose father was the royal butler in Dresden, and who had supplied the two travellers superabundantly with the best Rhine-wine. In all the Jesuit colleges they were sumptuously entertained, especially at Regensburg, to which place Winckelmann carried a present of a hundred and twenty ducats (§240). But he was most pleased at Neuburg, where the Rector Ligeritz visited him each morning at an early hour, and seated himself in front of the bed, and in this way they conversed together whole hours. He let his luggage remain at Neuburg, and went on foot seven miles to Augsburg, where he was obliged, unwillingly, to stay eight days, — because all the vetturini had been taken away by the Jesuits, who had travelled

to Italy, in order to choose their provincial, by way of this city, — and, at last, to put up with the accommodation of a heavily laden carriage in which were riding a castrato, and a man with his wife and two children. The grandeur of nature on the road by Innspruck, Hall, Brixen, Bolzano, Trento, Salerno, Mestre, and Venice, delighted him so much, that he regarded this portion of his journey, until he arrived at Rome, as the most agreeable. He writes to Berends, “I should fill my whole letter with things about the Tyrol, if I should attempt to describe the rapture into which I was thrown.” The cleanliness, order, prosperity, and abundance on the tables in all the inns of this land excited his astonishment. The maidens of Bolzano might be proud of the praise which such a connoisseur gives to their beauty: “Of Bolzano I must, however, inform you, that I have found all the maidens whom I have seen pretty, even beautiful; this is a point of knowledge which castrati well understand, and my companion agreed with me. He has seen nothing wonderful, nothing astonishing, who has not viewed this land with the eye with which I have studied it. Across the loftiest ranges goes a path as in a chamber. Every half-hour may be seen a large inn, — even where there is no village, — in which cleanliness and abundance prevail, at the base of mountains of fearful beauty. Everywhere beds are as numerous as any one can wish; and everywhere the guest is served with silver knives and forks; twenty of us have eaten together, and each one was provided with them.”

In Venice, “a place, the first look at which hur-

ries one away, but about which the astonishment diminishes," he tarried five days, without seeing the library of San Marco, because Zanetti, the librarian, was on the mainland.

He went thence to Bologna by water; and during the first night a storm arose, amidst which he slept so soundly as to astonish the castrato. After three days and three nights he arrived in Bologna, where he stopped five days with Bianconi's parents. During this time he went round looking at the paintings in the churches in and about the city. His journey from Bologna to Rome, sixty German miles, by the way of Faenza, Forli, Cesena, Rimini, Ancona, Loretto, &c., lasted twelve days, and from Ancona the party consisted almost always of six to eight persons, in two or three mule-carriages. Wretchedness, distress, and uncleanness prevailed in many inns; and the nearer to Rome, the worse the evils.



## CHAPTER VII.

### *Winckelmann in Rome.*

“Per tot discrimina rerum  
Tendimus in Latium.”

IMMEDIATELY after his arrival in Rome, he was taken to the Custom-house, where his effects were examined piece by piece, and were pronounced passable, with the exception of Voltaire's Works, which he did not obtain again for three weeks.

At first he resided in a tavern, but afterwards *alla Trinità de' Monti*, or the Pincian Hill, formerly *Collis Hortulorum*, not far from the Medici villa, and opposite to the painter Raphael Mengs, on the most healthy piazza in Rome, from which the whole of the Eternal City can be surveyed at once. His companions in the house were merely painters, — two Englishmen, two Frenchmen, and one German. The earnest recommendation to Mengs the painter, which he had received from Dieterich, the court-painter, was a great advantage to him, for he did not speak the Italian language with ease, and was, moreover, without acquaintances; but it was of still more benefit to him than this, because he found united in this man the thinking and the practical artist. Mengs proved of uncommon service to him. On each fast-

day Winckelmann dined at his table, drank coffee there, and visited him frequently at other times. He writes: "Without this man I should be, as it were, in a desert, for I was not furnished with the address of any one. I spend more time with him than elsewhere; and through him I have procured the addresses of several persons, and he is the man who can be useful to me in everything. Even this letter I write in his chamber."

On the 17th of January, 1756, he obtained an audience of the Pope, Benedict XIV., through the means of his first physician in ordinary, Laurenti, with whom he had become acquainted through a letter of Bianconi, of Dresden. His Holiness excused Winckelmann from kissing his foot, and assured him of his favor. About this time, — after, however, he had expressed himself opposed to any engagement, — he allowed himself likewise to be presented to the Cardinal Passionei, who received him with extraordinary courtesy, and immediately conducted him into his library. As it is the custom in Rome not to uncover the head even in the apartment of the person to whom the visit is made, Passionei did not allow any one in the library to remove his hat in his presence. "You must know," he said to Winckelmann, that all compliments are banished from the republic of letters." He granted him full liberty to visit this beautiful collection of books, which was almost as numerous as that of Von Büнау, at Nötheniz, every day from nine till twelve o'clock, and showed him the commencement of a review, in writing, of the manuscripts, — a work which had been deferred on Winckelmann's account. But, like Hector, he said, "I fear the Greeks."

On Sundays he went to the galleries with a few artists, among whom was the landscape-painter, Harper, of Berlin, who had already spent about four years in Rome; but, afterwards, he gave a certain sum to be allowed to see the Apollo, the Laocöon, and the Torso, in the Belvedere, as often as he required, in order that his spirit might be more profoundly stirred by the contemplation of these works. From these visits arose the design of writing a large work on the taste of Greek artists. He had read Pausanias for this purpose, and he was desirous of continuing on with some of the other ancient writers. "This work," he writes to Franke, "occupies me to such a degree, that I think of it whether I stand still or walk. A description of the Apollo demands the loftiest style; an elevation above everything human. The effect produced by his aspect is indescribable."

In the beginning of the summer of 1756, he visited Frascati, Tivoli, and other places in the vicinity, where nature, as soon as one has passed from the waste regions about Rome, is inexpressibly beautiful. He writes, "Tivoli has, besides, become memorable to me through something hitherto unnoticed; I do not believe that it is possible to find in any other place in Italy so pure blood; it is not rare to see a Grecian profile."

About this time he almost met his death in the garden of the Ludovisi villa. He had mounted on the base of a statue, for the purpose of examining the workmanship of it more narrowly; as he was about to descend, it fell and broke in pieces. Filled with apprehension, he did not know what to do, and endeavored to satisfy the superintendent by paying him a few ducats.

He formed the plan of a work which, judged by its contents, would exceed the promise in the title, *The Restoration of Statues and other Works of Antiquity*. But neither this, nor the work previously mentioned, was fully carried out. A larger work, *The History of Art*, on which from this time forward his soul hung, robbed him of almost all his time, because he was obliged to read the ancient authors, collectively, over again.

For some time he resided in the same house with the Danish sculptor, Wiedewelt. He did not form many acquaintances, but limited himself to Mengs, Passionei, Alexander Albani, Archinto, Giacomelli, Baldani, Corsini, Contucci, Ruggieri, Cerisano; but these were persons of so distinguished talents that he speaks of them with the highest praise. "All is naught, compared with Rome! Formerly, I thought that I had thoroughly studied everything, and behold, when I came hither, I saw that I knew nothing. Here, I have become smaller than when I came out of school in the Büнау library. If thou shouldst wish to learn to know men, here is the place; here are heads of infinite talent, men of high endowments, beauties of the lofty character which the Greeks have given to their figures; and he who finds at last the right paths, sees persons compounded of truth, rectitude, and greatness; and as the freedom enjoyed in other states is only a shadow compared with that of Rome, — which probably strikes thee as a paradox, — so there is also in this place a different mode of thinking. Rome is, I believe, the high school of the whole world; and I too have been tried and refined."

Barthelemy, the author of *Anacharsis the Younger*,

who resided at Rome quite a long time at the same period, in the years 1755 and 1756, agrees perfectly in opinion with Winckelmann about the principal learned men in Rome, although he did not become acquainted with the German archæologist. Of Corsini and Giacomelli he writes: "Corsini, the General of the Schools of Piety, who has written *Attic Splendor*, and several other works upon antiquity, is a man who unites very profound knowledge with much gentleness and modesty. Giacomelli, who is very learned in the Greek language, has written a large commentary upon the *Electra* of Sophocles, in which emendations are found that seem to me happy. He is a man of soul, who possesses the true taste of Greek literature, and is more captivated by Homer than by Tasso, and who knows by heart an endless number of passages in the Greek poets. Italy, notwithstanding her humiliation and want of courage generally, still produces many learned men, worthy of their predecessors." He lauds the truth and candor of Passionei, which drew upon him the hatred of most of the cardinals, the firmness of his character, which made him an object of fear to the religious societies, and his rectitude, which was always admitted, even in the country where all virtues and vices lie concealed under policy and hypocrisy.

In consequence of a very earnest recommendation from the Baron Stosch, in Florence, with whom Winckelmann had opened a literary correspondence, he became more nearly acquainted with the Cardinal Alexander Albani, who was unsurpassed as a lover and judge of ancient works of art; the acquaintance soon



increased even to friendship. With the latter and Passionei he often dined; but from Archinto he accepted only the very spacious apartments offered him in the Cancellaria, — for the purpose of arranging his library, in that building, without entering further into any engagement, or desiring a remuneration. But when this dignitary saw how Winckelmann was estimated by Passionei and Albani, he also invited him often to his table, which was viewed as a great honor, because, in his capacity as State Secretary, he resided in the Papal palace on Monte Cavallo, and entertained prelates only.

Thus situated, Winckelmann was perfectly happy. His health was better than ever; he became stouter, and though he occasionally ate too much and drank like a German, that is to say, wine without water, still his head and his stomach remained excellently well. Only he became sensitive to the cold, which in warm climates is always more disagreeable than in the rude North. His mode of life in other respects contributed much, however, to his good health; he went home betimes, retired early to bed, and rose early; renounced operas and plays; and slept in the vast palace in which he dwelt, undisturbed by the fearful noise which prevails in Rome, especially of summer nights, — worse than it was in the days of Juvenal, since at that time coaches were not known. “In the daytime,” he writes to Berends, “it is pretty quiet in Rome; but at night it is the devil let loose. From the great freedom which prevails here, and from the neglect of any sort of police, the brawling, shooting, fireworks, and bonfires in all the streets, last during the whole night, and until the

bright morning. The populace is untamed, and the governor is become weary of banishing and hanging."

However, he enjoyed Rome, and profited by a residence there, as few strangers before him had profited, or were able to profit. He believed that he had come there for the purpose of opening the eyes of those who should see this capital after him. He writes to Franke: "If I can be further assisted, then is Rome, with a competency on my part, a paradise, and I should quit it with tears in my eyes." Occasionally, he even called, jocosely, all Rome his own. He estimated his freedom at the highest degree, because, without it, his plans must be defeated; and since it was likely that, during the war of the Prussians with the Saxons, his small pension would not be paid, he had conceived the project of entering a reasonable order of Benedictines or Augustines, where he might be released from service in the choir, and stand in no further need of any one's assistance. The king of Poland, however, gave Winckelmann to understand that he prized him; and, on learning his dangerous adventure with the statue, he wished to have Winckelmann warned not to venture his limbs and life from love for antiquity. Furthermore, the pension was paid to him in full.

Nothing seemed to him to contrast so strongly with the manners prevailing at that time in Germany, as the condescension of the great, and the modesty of the most distinguished learned men. Passionei often drove out with him; and visitors walked with Albani, at his villa, as with a burgher; Corsini, who was far removed from pious hypocrisy, disowned any merit; Contucci, who possessed great learning,



imparted without reserve what he knew, and he, as well as Baldani, who was regarded as the greatest intellect in Rome, — which has an infinite meaning, — did not have the vanity of becoming authors. Every Sunday evening these two held a conference with each other in relation to antiquities, and Winckelmann, having received from Baldani a spontaneous invitation to join them, became the third, so that he was now an intimate friend of Giacomelli, the most learned man in Rome, and of Baldani, the wisest. In common with the former, he obtained the reputation of being the greatest Grecian in the city.

His studies were the ancients, the best authors of Italy, and art. He proposed to publish, with a translation, the manuscript discourses of Libanius which were contained in the Vatican and Barberini libraries; to write *Letters from Rome*, addressed to his friends; and to describe the statues of the Belvedere: the last was also really executed. His elevated notions of an author's duty, and of the requisites of his style, were ever present to his eyes; and in order to elevate himself above the common class of writers, he proceeded slowly and carefully with works which he wished to last. "I know what a difficult task writing is, and Roscommon is right, in my opinion, when he says, 'The greatest masterpiece of everything in which mankind has been distinguished is good writing.' My principal rule is, never to say in two words what can be expressed by one; but to express myself freely when expressing my own thoughts, or engaged on description in the higher style of composition. It is impossible for any one to write very badly, if, in the first place,

he note down, in the works of the ancients, what he wishes them to have written and not to have written; in the next place, if he think for himself, and not let others think for him; furthermore, if he strive for brevity in writing, for the world is flooded with books; and, finally, if he imagine himself to be speaking in the presence of the whole world, look upon all his readers as enemies, and, if possible, write nothing which may not be considered worthy of posterity. These conditions it is difficult to fulfil; but the first is in the power of each one. As for the rest, great ignoranuses can write very learnedly. Big books, like Wolf's works, are compiled without great trouble; but a work in which nothing is borrowed, and everything is original, and which contains nothing that is copied or quoted from others, requires a long time and much precision." Upon the description of the Torso he meditated three months, and upon the plan of his *History of Ancient Art* an entire year. In so doing, it was his intention to give to the thoughts and the style the utmost degree of beauty. To the apprehension of his friend Berends, that he might, perhaps, be too dogmatic in his writings, he replied: "I write to a friend differently from what I do when I send my writings into the world; in these I strive to speak with the greatest precaution. Rome, also, is the place where the dictatorial tone may be dropped among so many great men, who disclaim even the consciousness of their merit."

Amidst so refined a people as the Italians, it was necessary for him to measure his own talents, to compare himself with others, to consider his relations, and to adopt a settled tone of deportment. He found

that, in despite of all their learning and other excellences, there was not a single man in Rome, with the exception of Mengs, who had looked into the true and inner nature of art; that many would set themselves up for judges, towards whom he must be silent; and that he might soon see united against himself the whole swarm of antiquarians whose ignorance he was about to disclose. In this position, he adopted for his rule humility, modesty, and fewness of words; but when need required, he showed himself with all the impetuosity and full power of his talents and knowledge. A French braggart, — one of several abbés who were apparently friends of Winckelmann, but who, when an opportunity offered, declared that there was not much in the German of whom Passionei thought so well, — believing, from Winckelmann's usual quietness, that he might venture an attack upon him, learned how very capable a serious man is, when his wit is aroused, of putting another in a ridiculous light. The babbler, who was at table in the company of the Cardinal Passionei, was unexpectedly hurried away as by a fierce torrent. Besides, Winckelmann could never endure the French. "They are a laughing-stock at Rome, and I pride myself upon having no communication with any of them. Their Academy is a society of fools; and a young Roman has made a coat of arms for them, namely, two asses scratching each other, — because everything pleases the French asses. A Frenchman would be unapt to become a great artist, or a profound scholar; moreover, not one can learn to speak a foreign language without making himself a laughing-stock."

## CHAPTER VIII.

### *First Journey to Naples.*

IN October, 1757, he dressed himself for his trip to Naples, for the first time as an abbé; that is, with a black band bordered by a blue stripe with a narrow white edge, and a silk mantle as long as the surplice. But he was unable to begin his proposed journey until the 8th of January of the following year, after he had received — as it were, extorted — a hundred thalers from Saxony, and sixty scudi from Archinto. From Dresden he was recommended by the Electoral Prince to the Queen of Naples; by the Cardinal Passionei, and Archinto, to the Imperial Ambassador, Count Firmian; by the Spanish Minister, Cerisano, who called him his friend, to Tanucci, Secretary of State; and by the Cardinal Spinelli, to Mazzochi, the most learned man. His chief aim in this journey was the investigation of antiquities in reference to their workmanship, and the establishment of a name by this means. But he felt much apprehension, because he gave himself credit for little insight into art, and it is quite a difficult thing to form a judgment of drawing.

The favorable reputation which had preceded him was of greater injury than benefit to him in Naples, because those who were placed in charge of the an-

tiquities were made uneasy by his arrival. It was pretended to the king, that Winckelmann was rather a painter than a learned man; on this account, an order was given to exercise supervision over him, so that he might not be able to copy anything. However, the king invariably called him Baron, and it was his wish that, in consequence of the letters of introduction presented by Winckelmann, he should see everything he desired. Although the superintendents never left his side, however much trouble he caused them, still, during the two months which he passed at Naples and Portici, he saw and observed more than had ever been done previously by a stranger; for he went round like a sly thief, in order to spy out what they wished to keep secret.

Towards the superintendent of the Museum, the confidant of the queen, whom he looked upon as an impostor and an arch-ignoramus, he assumed the character of a simpleton, because this person had, even before his arrival, been planning schemes against him; towards the learned, he was modest; towards the minister Tanucci, a man rich in knowledge, and proud, he showed himself sincere and honest. The confessor of the queen, a German by birth, worked in concert with the superintendent of the Museum; and therefore Winckelmann did not receive permission to appear before the queen, until he had assured them that he neither sought nor desired anything.

At Naples he resided in a monastery, but he was often invited to the tables of Tanucci, Firmian, Galiani, and the Nuncio Pallavicini. In the evening he received the visits of the learned men, among whom Galiani rarely failed to be present. He writes: "Fir-



mian is a man of forty years of age; of great intellect, and of incredible knowledge; he has studied at Leyden, Siena, Rome, and Paris, and has read more English books almost than I have seen. With him I have formed a particular friendship, for he is a man after my heart. The Nuncio is a man of acute mind, and Galiani is an honorable and a learned man, and a serviceable friend."

From Naples he visited Pozzuoli, Baiæ, Misenum, Cumæ, and Caserta, at which last place are the Royal Palace, — an expensive structure, — and the astonishing aqueduct leading to it, thirty Italian miles in length, and in one place — having three arches, one above the other — twenty-five palms (twenty-one feet) higher than the front of St. Peter's Church. The longest excursion made by him was in company with two of the king's chamberlains, of Cologne, and John James Volkmann, of Hamburg, to visit Pæstum, on the bay of Salerno, in order to see the three celebrated temples of the Doric order which lie in the midst of this barren district. On this journey he became acquainted with Gessner's *Idyls*. Volkmann recited passages from them to his companion, on the gulf of Salerno; and Winckelmann was exceedingly delighted by the harmonious and tender feelings which are so happily expressed in them, and by the picturesque descriptions of nature.

During his stay at Naples, he was unexpectedly surprised by a gift of fifteen ducats. The royal engraver, Wille, of Paris, and John Kaspar Füessly, of Zurich, had collected this money for his support, and wished, moreover, to remain unknown; but Winck-

elmann gratefully erected to them a lasting memorial in the Preface to the *History of Ancient Art*.

Naples, as a residence, did not seem to him so pleasant as Rome. There were no trees, no gardens, and no shadow except in narrow streets; the sole promenade, on the bay, was constantly in the sun; on the other hand, in Rome there was a promenade for each day in the year, in addition to those in private villas. Portici pleased him. Whilst there, he resided with Father Antonio Piaggi, him who unfolded the manuscript rolls of Herculaneum. It is situated at an hour's distance from the capital, on a delightful sea-shore, and the road to it lies through a long row of pleasure-houses. The Royal Palace, however, excited his disgust; for no Augsburg dauber could have made worse decorations; rather, the whole consisted of straight lines. The horses seemed to him to be the finest animals; the men were almost like Africans, and yet more ugly when they spoke.

With the exception of sensual love, he enjoyed in Naples everything which a stranger can enjoy, namely, cauliflower two spans in diameter, and Lagrima Christi, to his heart's content. Towards the end of April, after a stay of two months, he departed satisfied, esteemed by the learned, and furnished with a rich collection of antiquarian knowledge.



## CHAPTER IX.

### *Return to Rome, and Journey to Florence.*

WINCKELMANN arrived again in Rome on the day when the Pope, Benedict XIV., died, the 13th of May, 1758. His principal occupation now consisted in drawing up a fair and systematic record of the knowledge which he had gained and the observations he had made on his journey. From these next proceeded, in part, the letters, written wholly in Italian, which he sent, at first through the Count Wackerbarth, and afterwards through Bianconi, from 1758 to 1763, to the Electoral Prince of Saxony, by whom they were highly prized. Another of his occupations, and one which he regretted not having commenced earlier, was to go about in Rome with a compass and a plumb-line, and measure the statues.

About this time were also completed his smaller valuable essays upon the *Study of Works of Art*, *On Grace in Works of Art*, the *Description of the Torso in the Belvedere*, and *Remarks upon the Architecture of the Ancient Temples at Girgenti, in Sicily*; and the *Remarks upon the Architecture of the Ancients* were partly sketched out, and partly finished.

On the 6th of November, 1757, Baron Philip von Stosch, who had recommended Winckelmann so emphatically to the Cardinal Alexander Albani, died at Florence, where he had resided since 1731, sixty-six

years of age. This profound archæologist, who, it is true, never learned to perceive the beautiful in art, because he had been spoiled at too early an age by other buyers of antiquities, has made himself known especially by the publication of a work bearing the title, *Gemmæ Antiquæ Cælatae, Sculptorum Nominibus Insignitæ, Æri incisæ per Bern. Picart.* (Amst., 1724, folio). But he is far more celebrated for his collection of engraved gems, sulphur casts, copper-plate engravings, maps, manuscripts, &c. "He has stripped Italy," writes a learned man who visited him, "and through his correspondence he still holds it in subjection; he showed me everything, but was not willing to part with anything. I humbled myself even to entreaties, but they only hardened a heart which is not soft by nature. I have overcome the natural obstinacy of the Abbé Boule, in Marseilles, and of some other forestallers; yet I obtain no victory over the mightiest among them." He possessed nearly fourteen thousand sulphur casts; his atlas of maps, plans, and drawings filled more than three hundred and twenty-five volumes of the largest folio, and the antique pastes and gems, each of them set in a ring, either of silver or gold, according to its merit, amounted to three thousand four hundred and forty-four, of which number the intaglios and pastes were twenty-five hundred. Of these, he had expressed the wish in his last hours that Winckelmann would prepare a critical catalogue, and at the request of his heir, Philip Muzel Stosch, a son of the sister of the deceased, and of Professor Muzel, of Berlin, he promised to undertake the work. The task grew beneath his hands, because he began to reason upon the art displayed in them, and to elucidate different

points of antiquity, for the purpose of giving, though with the utmost brevity, something more than a catalogue. During his whole life he never worked so incessantly as he did at this time; for six entire months he went out only half an hour in the evening. But his nervous and digestive systems suffered so severely in consequence, that he was compelled to drink water, and could even scarcely bear chocolate.

During his residence in Florence, the Cardinal and Secretary of State, Archinto, died of apoplexy, or by poison; probably the latter. By his death, Winckelmann lost a powerful patron, and his quiet abode in the Cancellaria. The latter circumstance must have been the more vexatious to him, because he had shortly before foregone a situation in the Vatican, for the purpose of making it over to a needy learned man, and the distress in Saxony did not allow him to expect any more aid from that quarter. He did not, however, murmur; but, wishing to help by bearing his portion of the common calamity of his country, he voluntarily, from true patriotic feelings, resigned all claim to his pension from that time forward.

A kind Providence, however, had chosen for him another patron, one who was far more to his heart and taste than Archinto. The Cardinal Alexander Albani, the patriarch and archimandrite of antiquities, as Winckelmann terms him, wrote him a letter with his own hand, in which he offered him rooms in his own house, and ten scudi (\$10) a month as wages, — an offer which Winckelmann accepted without hesitation.

After a residence of nine months in Florence, he left towards the end of April, travelling through Tuscany towards Rome.

## CHAPTER X.

### *Life in Rome.*

HE now fixed his residence in the capital, near the Cardinal Alexander Albani, in whose palace four of the most charming and agreeable chambers were set apart for him, two of them overlooking the garden, and affording a view of ancient ruins away across Rome, as far as the country-seats at Frascati and Castel-Gandolfo. They seemed to be selected for purposes of study, for no one dwelt near him or over him. He had no other duty than to be the companion of the Cardinal, and to take care, as overseer, of his library, which had been founded by Pope Clement XI., of the house of the Albani, and which was not, in any respect, inferior to that of Passionei. Far dearer to him than the library, however, was the cabinet of drawings and engravings, among which were a large volume of drawings by the celebrated Poussin, and twelve volumes of Domenichino. At first, his mode of life was somewhat confined, because the Cardinal wished to have him always about him; and on every Sunday they went out especially for the purpose of hunting up antiquities in obscure localities. When he went to drive, he took Winckelmann at his side, and their intimacy was so great, that he sat on Winckelmann's bed in the morning, talking with him, — that he joked with him, and

wished not to conceal from him the secrets of his heart; and consequently he met with frankness of soul in return.

Albani, "in architecture a Cartesian, who cannot admit any vacant space," built a most beautiful and sumptuous villa outside of the Porta Salaria, at Rome, which he embellished with a multitude of ancient statues, reliefs, and pictures; for several years he spent his entire income of twenty thousand sequins (\$40,000) on this building. "With the exception of the Church of St. Peter's, it surpasses everything that has been built in modern times. He has even provided the soil, and is himself the sole architect." Nothing was done without Winckelmann's approval; it seemed as if he were building for him, as if he were buying statues for him, and in all the country-seats of the Cardinal he was master, and had suites of rooms in them.

Twice a week he accompanied the Cardinal to an assembly, where the highest nobility of both sexes met, to which it was customary to introduce strangers, and where the finest voices sang. Twice a week he dined with Passionei, although the latter was not on friendly terms with Albani, and in the evening he drove with his patron to the house of the Countess Cheroffini, who had once been a beauty. Carriages and horses always stood ready for his service, and everywhere the treasuries of art were willingly opened to him. In the summer months he went, either alone, or with the Cardinal, or with the Princess Theresa Albani, to the country-seat at Nettuno, built on the ruins of what once was Antium, after a plan such as Hadrian would have designed:

“ O Diva, gratum quæ regis Antium ! ”

and on the most glorious shore of the Mediterranean ; or to Castel-Gandolfo, where nature is more beautiful than anywhere else under the sun.

His chief study and occupation was the *History of Art*, — a fruitful but uncultivated field, which he transformed into a beautiful garden, with grand divisions and delightful views. He studied like a hero, with every imaginable advantage, and he felt himself very much more learned and skilful. The direction of the printing of the *Description of the Stosch Cabinet*, in the year 1759, still continued, however, to rob him of much time, and was the occasion of a sharp correspondence ; for the book was printed at Florence, and the Abbé St. Laurent, who corrected the French text, at times wished also to insert a word of his own into the matter of the work. This *Description of the Engraved Gems of the late Baron de Stosch*, now a rare work, with a dedication to the Cardinal Alexander Albani, was published by Bonducci, at Florence, in quarto. Lami, the literary chief at Florence, and editor of the *Novelle Letterarie* of that city, who established his quarters for the whole day at the Swiss Coffee-house, inserted in his journal a meagre announcement of the *Description*, and at the close of it added: “ There are some good remarks to be found in the book.” Besides Lami, the Swiss Coffee-house was also frequented by the Abbé Bracci, — whose *Memoirs of Ancient Engravers*, which first appeared in 1784, in folio, had been quoted with a censure by Winckelmann, — and Alfani, from whom he had won a bet of ten sequins in regard to a gem engraved by Pichler, but heretofore esteemed as an-



tique; however, he never got the money. "I have now," he writes, "stirred up against me the whole nest of little antiquarians; they talk against me, and also against my nearest acquaintances. But the bow is bent, and a keen arrow is placed upon it for whoever comes forth with anything. The range will hit the pitiful Bracci in the first place, whom I have already given to understand that I shall write against him, if he appears in print. He knows that he will have to weigh all his words."

Winckelmann had, in fact, an idea of writing a paper on the *State of Learning in Italy*, and in it to describe particularly Lami, Bracci, and the like, according to their deserts. The Jesuits of Trevoux, in the *Memoirs* of that place, blamed Winckelmann for quoting unfamiliar books. "It is not my fault," he says in reply, "that the gentlemen censors neither have, nor know, the books which an antiquarian must know; no more is it my fault that they acknowledge the limited extent of their reading. They ought rather to have remarked that the results of extensive reading are not thrown out profusely by the cart-load, but scattered by the hand sparingly, and that there was material at hand enough to fill a large work in folio, if I had not imposed upon myself the rule to say nothing in two words that could be said in one." But Caylus has spoken of this work with uncommon praise, and was very well satisfied both with the quotations and the criticism. Barthélemy also wrote to the Theatine monk Paciaudi, of Frascati, quite particularly in praise of Winckelmann, and hence the latter translated into Italian, at Paciaudi's request, something



upon ancient architecture which Barthélemy wished to obtain.

Though the *Description of the Stosch Cabinet* was a laborious task, he absolutely refused to accept any remuneration; but the grateful heir sent him ten sequins (\$20) on one occasion, when Winckelmann, being in embarrassment, wrote to him for three. Several times he furnished him with excellent wines, and once he sent him a bag of Arabian coffee of two hundred pounds' weight.

At the beginning of the year 1760, he strongly entertained the wish to go to Greece with Lady Orford, with whom he had become acquainted in Florence. "When would she think of undertaking the journey?" he writes to Florence, to Muzel Stosch. "This year? Nothing in the world have I so ardently desired as this; willingly would I allow one of my fingers to be cut off, indeed I would make myself a priest of Cybele, could I but see this land under such an opportunity. I am now building my castles in the air upon it. May Heaven grant that the foundation do not sink!"

About this time he was greatly annoyed by an ordinance of the government, that the Apollo, Laocoon, and other statues in the Belvedere, and probably also those in the Campidoglio, should have the private parts covered by metal aprons, suspended by wires around the hips. "There has hardly ever been in Rome so ass-like a regulation as the present!" he exclaims in his indignation.

His *Observations upon the Architecture of the Ancients*, which pleased him more than anything that he had hitherto done, were finished at the commence-

ment of the year 1760. The *History of Art*, which had previously been a *Manual*, was now changed into a *Work*, and he proposed to write, in the Latin language, a *Commentary upon Obscure Greek Coins of the Earliest Date*, accompanied by a *Preliminary Dissertation upon the Distinctive Marks of Style in Art from the Earliest Times to the Age of Phidias*, and to let each coin be accompanied by a rare bas-relief, which should serve as an illustration.

This undertaking was not, however, accomplished in the manner mentioned; but there grew out of it, and out of the design of publishing something upon the difficult and partially obscure points of mythology, his *Ancient Monuments*, an antiquarian work upon ancient monuments, which is still very valuable, even at the present day.

Although Winckelmann had not as yet made himself known as an author by a large work, and in the Italian language, still he enjoyed in Rome and other parts of Italy, indeed even in foreign lands, a brilliant name in the department of antiquarian knowledge. "For, elsewhere, they only are learned who teach from the chair or in books, or suppose they teach; in Rome, one may be learned, and yet do neither. Here, the court, which more than other courts stands upon learning, decides upon merit in this particular; and a Cardinal, like Passionei, gives the tone. Consequently, a man may attain in Rome a reputation for knowledge without being an author; and whoever is thus distinguished here will be so in other parts of Italy, because Rome is the centre. Many who are wise content themselves with the reputation of wisdom." It so happened, then, that the

Academy of St. Luke at Rome, the Etruscan Academy at Cortona, and the Antiquarian Society of London, elected him an honorary associate; and he had been, since 1757, Councillor and Associate of the Imperial Academy of the Liberal Arts at Augsburg.

Notwithstanding he was in good health, contented, cheerful, independent, and lord of his lord, he still continued without an office which would assure him of support in his old age. His heart inclined to Saxony, as was right; but the Electoral Prince, who had indeed said, "I will endeavor to make Winckelmann contented with his position at my court," had postponed his appointment to the office of Superintendent of his Museum very indefinitely for several years after the conclusion of peace with Prussia. On this account Winckelmann listened to a proposition to go to Wolfenbüttel, which had been made on the part of the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel; but the affair fell through; he was, also, disappointed in not receiving an invitation to go to Vienna. If he would take the tonsure, that is, if he were willing to enter the clerical ranks of the Catholic Church, he would without doubt have obtained in Rome, by the mediation of the cardinals, his friends, a suitable provision; but he said, "I was born free, — I will die free"; consequently, he rejected the office of canon at the Bocca della Verità, which was offered to him; and only once did he believe that he should be obliged to read mass.

The summer of 1761 deprived him of two friends in Rome. The Cardinal Passionei died on the 5th of July, and Mengs, the painter, started with his family, at the beginning of August, on his way to Madrid,

to take possession of the brilliant post to which he had been invited by Charles III. "If you knew the friend whom I have lost," (he is writing to Solomon Gessner about this separation,) "you could not have said less than you did in your last esteemed letter. My friend may be happy, but not so easily as I; for my desires are bounded by the enjoyment of my present tranquillity, an enjoyment greater, perhaps, than any supposed good fortune can hereafter give me. We begin to be rich when the impetuosity of our desires diminishes, and poor when our possessions increase. I believe myself to be secure against all lucky chances." Mengs, in fact, did not feel happy in Spain; his eyes and his thoughts were turned towards Rome, rich in art, until his feet again trod its soil.

In January, 1762, he made, in company with the Saxon Count von Brühl, his second journey to Naples. They remained there three weeks; and every morning, at an early hour, Winckelmann drove to Portici, where he was perfectly at home with Camillo Paderni, and had every facility for studying the antiquities. The fruit of this journey was the *Letter on the Antiquities of Herculaneum*, addressed to his companion. Four pictures, — Dancers together with Nymphs and Centaurs, twenty inches high, on a black ground, fleeting as a thought, — which had just been discovered, "and which excelled the earlier ones as much as the horse excels the ass," a bronze Mercury of wondrous beauty, and a young sleeping Satyr, were, by this time, the most interesting objects to him.

Tanucci, the minister, had received him, notwith-

standing their habitual correspondence, in such a manner, that the visit was not repeated. "The sensitiveness of an inferior towards a superior cannot be active enough; and as we must, when with a superior, always tune a note higher, so the lowering of a tone, by a tenth part, places us on the verge of contempt." The *Letter on the Antiquities of Herculaneum* aroused two violent replies, one of which was written by Galiani, from whom Winckelmann believed himself deserving of better things. "It is written in so ass-like a manner, that it disgusts every one, and I have been assured that the Secretary of State, the Marquis Tanucci, has ordered the author and printer to suppress all the copies." He was writing to Muzel Stosch. "Next year, about this time, I hope to have my revenge in the preface to the *Monuments*; for I hope that the commentator on the wares at Portici will lose his courage at the sight of a better work." It seems that the Neapolitans wished to be the exclusive possessors of the meaning of their antiquities, and of the capacity to understand them. What a paltry jest is made of the Theatine monk Paciaudi in the preface to the third volume of the *Pitture d' Ercolano*, because in his *Monumenta Peloponnesiaca* he has represented and explained a sun-dial of the Herculaneum Museum, shaped like a small ham! *The young man* is repeated several times in the first chapter, though Paciaudi was fifty years of age.

The desire to visit Greece and Asia Minor awoke afresh in Winckelmann, from time to time, whenever he saw an opportunity to do so. At one time he would go with the English Ambassador, Lord



Granville, to Constantinople; at another, with Mr. Hope, who afterwards became a French general; finally, with Lord Adams or Lord Montague, to the Peloponnesus, the Levant, and Egypt. Montague had studied in Leipsic, and spoke German very fluently; at that time he was a man forty-seven years of age, and versed in the Oriental languages; for in his youth he had resided a long time in Constantinople with his father, who had been English Ambassador near the Porte; and he asserted that he was the first European who had ever been inoculated with the small-pox. With this learned Englishman he drilled himself in the Arabic; this gave him a great help in the Hebrew language, which he was studying as accessory to an appointment in the Vatican.

In the summer of 1762, he was confined to his bed by a dangerous fever. The Cardinal, his friend, took very good care of him on this occasion, and in a short time he was again happily restored to health.

Among the strangers with whom Winckelmann became acquainted in Rome, and to whom he officiated as guide to the treasures of art, was the Baron Friederich Reinhold von Berg, of Livonia, — in the spring of the year 1762. His stay in Rome was only for a short time; but, notwithstanding, Winckelmann felt himself so strongly attracted to him by a secret power, that he laments his separation from him in the most touching words. “As a tender mother weeps disconsolately over a beloved child, torn forcibly from her by a prince, and exposed on the field of battle to immediate death, so, with tears that flow from my very soul, I lament my separa-

tion from you, my sweet friend. An indescribable attraction to you, occasioned not by face and form alone, caused me to feel, from the first moment that I saw you, a trace of that harmony which transcends all human conceptions, and which is attuned by the eternal union of all things. Your conformation allowed me to infer that which I wished to find; and I found in a beautiful body a soul formed for virtue, and endowed with the sentiment of the beautiful." To him, as a token of friendship, pure from all conceivable selfish views, because he could not hope ever to see his friend again, he dedicated the ingenious *Treatise on the Capability of the Feeling of Beauty*, composed in the highest style of prose. Notwithstanding this disinterestedness, the essay, being dedicated in so novel a manner, gave rise to many constructions and conjectures; readers found in it, and in the letters to Berg, the language, not of friendship, but of love; and such it actually is. At an earlier period, he maintained a very intimate familiarity with Lamprecht; the beautiful youth, Nicolo Castellani, belonging to one of the best families in Florence, had captivated him to such a degree, that he wished to honor him by dedicating to him one of his works; the death of the beautiful, indeed very beautiful singer, Belli, at which Lady Orford shed tears, he also bewailed; and finally, he caused a portrait to be painted of a beautiful castrato; and for a long time there dined with him, on Saturday, a young Roman, slender, fair, and tall, with whom he talked of love. From these circumstances, as well as from passages in his writings in which he acknowledges the superiority in beauty of the male



figure over that of the female, some are disposed to infer that Winckelmann may, at least, have been of the same mind with the Kallikratidas of Lucian, in the *Erotos*: but it is not so; for he was no less sensible to the beauties of the female sex. "I have never been an enemy of the other, as I am decried; but my mode of life has removed me from all intercourse with it. I might have married, and probably should have done so, if I had revisited my native land; but now I scarcely think of it." He throws a kiss to the beautiful Lida of Venice; the maidens of Bolzano, and those with the Greek profile at Tivoli, pleased him very much; he lost many hours for the purpose of meeting again the beautiful face and form of a young girl in Rome, whom he saw only once. It affects him in a similar manner that the bloom of the little Victoria, like that of Castellani, is only *brevis ævi*, "of short duration." The same innocent love which he acknowledges himself to have felt for Berg, he also entertained towards a young female dancer, twelve years of age, at Florence; and that he was not cold towards the wife of his friend Mengs, the sequel will show.

The large sense of beauty, heightened by the most fortunate observation, which belonged to Winckelmann in a degree that has rarely fallen to the lot of any other man, embraced all kinds of it without exception. If, to form the highest beauty, a noble soul was also united to a beautiful shape, his enthusiasm knew no bounds; it was no longer under his control, and his whole being was absorbed in the object, in wonder, love, and esteem. From this source flowed the rapture which, as it were, turned him into

stone at the sight of a head of Pallas of the highest beauty, and forced him to kiss a lovely Faun. From this sprang his chaste love for Berg, his disquietude and indignation when he believed himself to be coldly treated; and from this, united with the loftiest conceptions of friendship, the entire sacrifice of himself for his chosen favorites. This is a tone of mind so lofty, that it is not every one whose thoughts can reach it. So much, however, is clear, that the grossness of sense is banished from it, and it may be said of such friends, as Philip said of the Thebans who fell at Chaeronea with wounds in their breasts, "Only a base soul suspects that corrupt morals prevailed among them."

From this time forward no traveller of high rank came to Rome to whom Winckelmann was not obliged to act as guide, although he often did so with the greatest reluctance, when he discovered in such persons no sensibility to the beautiful in art. The Duke of Roxburgh, and afterwards Lord Baltimore, who owned all Maryland in Virginia, and who had an income of thirty thousand pounds sterling, were among the first whom he accompanied. The latter, a man of forty years of age, and weary of the world, found nothing beautiful in Rome but Peter's church and the Vatican Apollo. When they had reached the end of the sights, Winckelmann told him plainly his opinion, and would not allow himself to be induced to accompany him even as far as Naples. Of almost a similar stamp were the Duke of Gordon, his brother Lord Gordon, and Lord Hope, whom he left at the end of fourteen days, because neither of them had taste and feeling for the beautiful. When in the

carriage, the first showed scarcely a sign of life, while Winckelmann, in the choicest expressions and the loftiest images, was praising to him the beauties of the ancient works of art. Of a better sort was a young Baron von Dalberg, Canon of Mayence, — a title which, at other times, was of evil augury with Winckelmann, — amiable, of good taste, much acuteness and knowledge, who proposed to study Greek on his return to Germany. He travelled with much dignity. France he did not wish to see. Winckelmann sought to distinguish men of merit so rare, especially when they came from the Catholic districts of Germany, and he wished to dedicate to him a small essay. This Dalberg was, subsequently, Prince Primate of Germany.

But he speaks of no stranger with so great praise as he does of the Prince of Anhalt-Dessau. One evening he entered Winckelmann's room with a traveller's staff in his hand, and without attendants, and said, "I am of Dessau, dear Winckelmann; I have come to Rome to learn, and have need of your assistance." He remained until midnight. Winckelmann wept tears of joy over a man of so much worth, and was proud of our country. He wrote to Muzel Stosch: "The Prince of Dessau is formed by nature to be a worthy citizen and friend; he fulfils the intention of nature, and exalts it by his birth, his shape, and his captivating condescension. He is not able to be wicked." The poorest painter who comes to Rome might take example of him in turning every moment to account; he entered into the minutest mythological details of art, and raised himself to its loftiness. For five months, he, together

with his brother and the Court Councillor, Reifenstein, resided in Rome, and Winckelmann would have followed him to Germany, to remain there, if his Italian work on the Monuments had been completed. The Prince of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, a youth seventeen years of age, was in Rome at the same time. He was Winckelmann's pupil for a whole year, and the Cardinal Albani treated him as if he were his own son. Afterwards, Winckelmann was guide to the hereditary Prince of Brunswick, whom he calls the Brunswick Achilles; to Hamilton, the English Ambassador at Naples, the greatest connoisseur in figures; to Lord Stormont, the Ambassador at Vienna, one of the most learned men of his time. Besides these travellers, he was also pleased with the Frenchmen Rochefoucault and Desmarest, and the Englishman John Wilkes.

In the year 1763, he received an office in the Vatican, which yielded only fifty dollars, and yet obliged him to pass therein from eight to twelve hours every day, with the exception of Saturday and Sunday. Work was the least thing required; each of the thirteen, the number of those employed, brought some news with him, and there they gossiped away most of the time; the holidays, also, lasted nearly five months, from June into November. But it took him a whole hour to go there, and another to return, — which was a very great hinderance in his favorite pursuits. If he were obliged, however, to accompany a stranger of rank, as, for example, Prince George Augustus of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, or the Prince of Anhalt-Dessau, he was released from his attendance at the Vatican during

the entire stay of the stranger. And in the same year he was appointed to the place of the Abbé Venuti, deceased, as Superintendent of Antiquities in and about Rome, or as Antiquarian of the Apostolic Chamber. This office was, seemingly, created for him; for nothing ancient could now come to light without his knowledge; it cost him scarcely any trouble, and produced him about fifteen dollars a month; so that, counting the pension from Saxony, now reduced to a hundred thalers (§ 77), and the one hundred and twenty dollars from the Cardinal Albani, he had now a certain yearly income of more than eight hundred guilders (§ 320). — enough for a man who is at the same time his own maid-servant, valet, and master. He afterwards quietly gave up the Vatican, — although he had the reversion of a secretaryship with a monthly salary of seventeen dollars, — because the going back and forth was too inconvenient; but, on the other hand, he received a hundred and twenty dollars annually from his patron and friend, the Cardinal Stoppani, who knew Horace by heart.

On his accession to his new office, he made a vow that he would not — like his predecessor, who belonged to a decayed noble family — humble himself and his position, as President of Antiquities, by acting as guide to strangers, unless he was compelled to do so by higher authority or from great obligations.

In regard to his literary performances, of which we are now to speak, it will be more convenient to bring together everything which relates to the origin, execution, and fate of his two principal

works, *The History of Ancient Art*, and *The Ancient Monuments*, instead of returning frequently to them.

The plan of the *History of Ancient Art*, as has been already mentioned, originated in the second year of his residence at Rome; but he was in doubt whether to compose it in German, Italian, French, or Latin, for two reasons. In the first place, his friend, the Cardinal Albani, showed a little sensitiveness at his continuing to write in his mother-tongue: *Dum vivis Romæ, Romano vivito more*, — “When you are at Rome, do as the Romans do”; and, in the second place, he did not think himself critically correct in German, nor could he hope to retain, by the perusal of choice writings, or by oral conversation, readiness and versatility of expression; for, during the long interval from 1755 to 1768, Gessner’s *Idyls* and his *Death of Abel*, Lessing’s *Laocoön*, and Mendelssohn’s *Phædo*, were the only well-written works of German literature that he had seen. As he was not, however, deficient in a stock of words, and his thoughts, from long familiarity with the ancients, had assumed, as a second nature, the simply beautiful forms and turns in which alone consists the essence of style, the language which he had sucked in with his mother’s milk obtained the mastery in this contest of tongues, and his principal work was composed in German. After making many copies, and repeated alterations of the original plan, he writes to Solomon Gessner, in a tone of regret:—

“Few men have had the opportunity and desire like myself to search into antiquity and art, as far as my insight could penetrate; but I resemble that



dancer of antiquity who, though in constant motion, did not quit his place. Occasionally, I reject to-day what yesterday I recognized as right.

“After nearly three hundred years, there came at last a time, when some one ventured to write a system of ancient art, not to improve thereby the art of our day, — which it is able to do for few of those who practise it, — but to teach them to study and admire ancient art. No idle words would help in this case; it was necessary that the teaching should be precise, and conformable to rule. When I did not hit the point, — which, oftentimes, was not invisible, — I was obliged to retrace all my steps. If my toil could be of advantage to art itself, it would merit praise. But I ought to have commenced this undertaking before I had reached my thirtieth year. I am now past forty, and therefore at an age when one can no longer sport freely with life. I perceive, also, that a certain delicate spirit begins to evaporate, with which I raised myself, by powerful soarings, to the contemplation of the beautiful. This is the soul of the whole knowledge of ancient art. — an endowment not prodigally conferred by Heaven.”

In the year 1759, he sent from Florence to Walther, the court bookseller at Dresden, the first sheets of the *History of Ancient Art*, who promised him a ducat a sheet. But as he received no answer from him in three to four months, and the bookseller Dyck, of Leipsic, begged him to let him have something for one of his monthly publications, at the rate of a Louis d'or a sheet, Winckelmann gave directions that the manuscript already forwarded to Dresden should be sent from there to Leipsic. Walther now

came forward with a claim to the privilege of printing; and Winckelmann then took the manuscript back again into his own hands. It was a fortunate occurrence for him; for he recast the whole system, which had not been sketched with sufficient clearness, and produced a new work. In the year 1762, he looked about for a publisher in Hamburg, being fearful lest the unhappy state of Saxony, occasioned by the war, might for a long time defer the publication, and his remuneration, — a Louis d'or a sheet. He, however, sent the work finally to Dresden, where it appeared in 1764, in quarto, with a dedication to the Electoral Prince, but he died without seeing it. "It is said," he writes to Muzel Stosch, "to have been received with much approbation; if this is flattery, it is not my fault, for I have devoted all my energies to the work." As soon as the book became known, individuals undertook to translate it, as they had done his earlier writings, into French. He obtained notice of it, and was not displeased at the indication; only he wished that certain alterations should be made in the translation, which he would himself point out; for Casanova, the sculptor, at a time when Winckelmann was on the most intimate terms with him, and Mengs, who had acted in concert with Casanova, to lower Winckelmann's high idea of antiquity, had deceived him by pretended ancient paintings, of which Casanova delivered to him drawings, designed by himself, as if they had been copied from antiques; and he did not discover the deception until his *History of Ancient Art* was already printed, in which are found two engravings made from the false drawings, together with the explanations. He now wished,

above all things, to have these two engravings, together with the explanations, left out in every new edition. He therefore begged the police office in Paris not to grant permission to print the translation until he had sent it the necessary notice. It was published, however, by Saillant, at Paris, in two octavo volumes, and at Amsterdam, by Harevelt, — for it is the same edition, notwithstanding some slight change in the title. A certain Sellius, who lived in Paris, was the translator; but it does not appear that he is the same person — mentioned by Winckelmann in a letter to Berends — who is said to have met with so unfortunate a fate, from which he perchance was saved; for, in another place, he remarks that he does not know him. Robinet de Chateaugiron supervised the edition at Amsterdam, and, according to him, it is probable that the printing was done in Holland. The two spurious engravings are omitted, it is true, but how much cause the author had to be dissatisfied with this translation, in other respects, is evident; for the connecting words are frequently wanting, the periods are broken into small clauses, the text is repeatedly misunderstood, and the style generally excites disgust. Winckelmann, therefore, inserted the following article in the *Literary Gazette of Europe*: — “The French translator of the *History of Ancient Art* has so altered the text, that if a judgment were to be formed of it from this unfaithful and distorted copy, it would be not more untrue than unfavorable. As the translator probably had little knowledge of German, and still less of the subject treated in the work, he commits gross mistakes at almost every

step, and makes the author say what he never thought, even in dreams."

Walther, of Dresden, proposed to prepare a pirated edition of this French translation, and Winckelmann was going to make considerable additions to it, and to remodel whole sections. But nothing resulted from this plan, for the enormous size of the first edition printed prevented the publisher from bringing out a second. Hence the author saw himself obliged to collect together in *Notes* to his *History* whatever additions or changes in it he wished to make. These *Notes* were also published by Walther, in a thin quarto, with a dedication to Muzel Stosch. But he was so discontented at not having recast the whole work, and given it a new form, that it became, from this time forward, the object of his utmost zeal. "We are wiser to-day than we were yesterday," he writes to Heyne and Franke; "would to God that I could show to you my *History of Art*, entirely remodelled, and considerably enlarged! I had not yet learned to write when I took it in hand; the thoughts are not yet sufficiently linked together; there is wanting, in many cases, the transition from the thoughts that precede to those that follow, — in which the greatest art consists." It was his firm resolve to translate the work into French, and let it appear in that form; but fate prevented him. On his last journey, he carried with him a manuscript prepared for the purpose, which was at his death sent to Vienna, where it was printed in such a manner, that it is impossible, now that the autograph is lost, to infer with certainty the nature of Winckelmann's retouch; but it is certain that this edition has nu-

merous errors, and was edited with the utmost negligence. From it were made the Italian translation of the Abbé Amoretti, with notes by him and the Abbé Fumagalli, and the French translation by Michael Huber, and also an emended Italian one by Carlo Fea, with corrections of the quotations, and with notes, which are for the most part valuable. The French edition by Jansen, which was to contain all Winckelmann's works, gives almost entirely the text of Huber, and all the notes and engravings in the translations by Amoretti and Fea, together with the emendations and essays by Lessing, Heyne, and Rode.

In the collection of Winckelmann's works which was published at Dresden, the text of the *History of Ancient Art* was, for the first time, critically corrected, and carefully constructed from the first edition of 1764, the *Notes* to it of 1767, and the Vienna edition, yet not so carefully that a future editor need not trouble himself with criticism. The quotations and notes are arranged at the end, in a manner inconvenient to the reader, and the authors of them are not always given, nor in every case correctly; and in several volumes are profusely emptied forth, with a very bad economy of expression, the necessary and the superfluous, mixed together without distinction.

In order to effect at last, after half a century, a complete collection of the writings of this classic author, which lay scattered like the limbs of Absyrtus, I determined to edit, after the strictest principles of criticism, a well-arranged edition, furnished with all useful quotations and notes, placed immediately under the text, and with indices as well as engravings.

Hardly had I proclaimed this design through a journal, than the Walther book-firm in Dresden started up in opposition to the undertaking. Hence, I find it necessary to observe that the present edition, as well in its plan and style, as in its extent, is entirely different from the Dresden edition. The notes, in particular, have been drawn up in a more suitable manner, and have been correctly assigned to their respective authors, and much that is wanting in other editions has been added. Of this any one may convince himself by comparison. In regard to the value of the edition, I have nothing to say; yet whoever wishes to possess in the original form all the supplements peculiar to the Dresden collection must seek them there only, and not here.

I again return to Winckelmann, who is busied with his *Ancient Monuments*, — a work upon which he has been employed for a long time. The Cardinal Albani had heard him, with pleasure, read portions of it, and the prelate Baldani, seventy-two years of age, a bitter but keen-eyed judge, played the part of censor at similar readings, with the utmost interest in the author's reputation. After this revisal, it was to receive a second from some one else, and finally a third. Winckelmann even had the honor of reading a piece from the *Illustrated Monuments* to the Pope, Clement XIII., at Castel-Gandolfo, before a numerous assemblage; on which occasion, seated between his Holiness and two cardinals, he selected the disquisition on the *Death of Agamemnon*, represented on a sarcophagus in the Barberini palace, as one of the most excellent, difficult, and learned.

Casanova furnished the drawings for this work,



and wished to defray the expenses of the copper-plate engraving; but when he went to Dresden as Professor in the Academy of Art, the whole undertaking fell upon Winckelmann, who was now obliged to maintain draughtsmen and engravers, because the booksellers in Rome would not, or could not, incur any responsibility. At the outset, the work was to contain only one hundred and fifty prints; but the number gradually increased to two hundred and twenty-six, exclusive of the vignettes. The outlay was great, for the cost of the paper alone amounted to thirty-six hundred guilders (§ 1,400). The Cardinal Albani had promised to pay for it; but when the cost had mounted to two thousand guilders, he appears to have had no more to do with it. Muzel Stosch, however, made him an offer to advance him a hundred ducats, and even more, if he needed it, — an offer which Winckelmann thankfully accepted, and in this way helped himself out of difficulty. At first, he intended to print a thousand copies; but as he met with obstacles, even from the first sheets, — which he was obliged to throw aside, — he was affrighted, like some one awaking from a delightful dream, at the hazard of his enterprise, limited the number of copies to six hundred, and for the present had only four hundred impressions struck from the plates. In the spring of the year 1767 the work appeared, in two folio volumes, and the price of it was eight ducats (§ 16). “It is known to God and myself,” he writes to L. Usteri, “how much I have sweated over it. There are pieces in it, over each one of which I have sat for five months.” In my opinion, Winckelmann certainly made no profit from

this carefully prepared work, because the time measured out to him for its sale was far too short; but this troubled him very little, for he valued gold no more than his shoes; and his only concern was that the purchasers of the book should esteem its worth equal to its price. He had already selected, for a third volume, forty monuments from a hundred rare ones, that had not yet been made known; his intention was to publish not more than a hundred copies, which were to be brought out with the utmost elegance. It is known how his project was rendered vain, and of the explanation of the pieces of the third volume only a few sketches seem to have been begun.

The objection has been made to this work, that it is loaded with unnecessary learning, after the Italian taste, because the author wished to make a display, in this particular, before the antiquarians of the land in which it was his intention to reside for the future; but if this censure should be well founded, then it falls with double force upon the archæologists subsequent to him. Nevertheless, the book contains ever so many interesting views, hints, and observations, which either occur nowhere else, or have a particular value on this account, that they are published here for the first time. A very learned man in this department, attached to a high school in my neighborhood, assured me that on this very account he still considers the work very valuable, and in many respects indispensable. If we miss in it that beauty of thought and expression, and the elevation, which prevail in the *History of Art*, and in several of his minor works, we must on the other hand re-

flect that the field here was altogether unsuited thereto, and that acuteness, united with learning, yields some compensation for those higher qualities. Everywhere, however, the original thinker and independent critic is manifest. It bears a similar relation to his *Essay on Allegory for Artists*, which appeared in the year 1766. This Essay is certainly defective in its plan, in correct explanation of the idea, and in completeness; and the author has probably over-estimated the work, because the long, but agreeable, labor of its compilation made it dearer to him than an original composition; but, notwithstanding, I should be unable, even at the present day, to cite any other book on the same subject containing treasures so rich, drawn from first sources.

If I wished to bring together all that relates to the principal writings of Winckelmann, there would be scarcely anything else for me to do than to continue on in the order of time. But I now resume the thread at the point where I let it drop.

At the end of February, 1764, he made his third journey to Naples, in company with the young Henry Füessly, of Zurich, and Dr. Volkman, of Hamburg. This Swiss, of whom Winckelmann draws so favorable a picture, is still living, at an advanced age, in his native city. They remained there three weeks, and the fruit of the journey is the *Notices of the Discoveries at Herculaneum*, which he dedicated to his companion, Füessly.

In March, 1764, the wife of his friend Mengs returned from Spain, after a residence there of three years, for the restoration of her health. The beautiful Margaret Guazzi once served the painter as a

model for the head of a Madonna; and the result of the acquaintance was that she became his wife. On the 15th of May, Winckelmann went with her, for a few days, to the villa of the Cardinal Albani, at Castel-Gandolfo. Notwithstanding her beauty, he had regarded her at an earlier period with indifference; but their acquaintance produced a familiarity which could not be greater without overstepping the last limits. On several occasions, at Castel-Gandolfo, he reposed at midday on the same bed with her; and Mengs — as a proof of the great love which he bore his wife — conceded to him privileges which are inalienable, preferring, under the circumstances in which she was placed, to make chastity subordinate to life. But the virtue of Winckelmann protected him. The wife recovered from her illness, and was enabled to return again to Spain, in September. He formed with her a friendship corresponding to his lofty notions, in which the beautiful wife was obliged, beforehand, to subscribe to certain conditions; and now, with the entire knowledge of the husband, they interchanged with each other letters which were full of tenderness. He gave her a promise never to leave Rome, whatever offers might be made him, at any time, to go elsewhere; for he hoped that Mengs, with his family, would again return after some years to the capital of Italy, to remain there permanently. From one of his letters, it is very probable that he was able to greet the Mengs family once more in Rome, in the year 1768.

In Germany, his reputation in the department of antiquities had become so great, that there was also a desire for fuller information as to his earlier life,

— his fortunes and relations. This desire was gratified, in a degree, by a letter which he wrote to Marpurg, of Berlin, as it was published among the *Letters relating to the Most Modern Literature*. The following words, which occur towards the end of it, “Here you have the life and marvels of John Winckelmann,” caused an acquaintance to write to him that a literary paper had published something about him under the title of *Life and Marvels*. This incorrect communication gave him much uneasiness; though not so much as the *Brief Biography*, which was patched together and published by Frederic Paalzow, his former colleague at Seehausen. “The sorry trash which has been published concerning me is absolutely undeserving of notice. Amidst all the stupidity of this pitiful scribbler, it is, nevertheless, evident that he has not told what truths he knew; for it is false that I was induced to go to Saxony by the tutor of the young Duke of Bünau; I was the means of bringing him there. Further, it is a scandalous falsehood that the Duke of Bünau sent me to Italy, and that, having travelled thither at his expense, I found it better not to return.” This pamphlet of a few pages led him to conceive the plan of writing his own biography, in which his portrait should be given with the same truth with which he desired to act. But the plan was never executed.

The learned Society of Göttingen elected him a Fellow. The same honor would, undoubtedly, have been shown him by the Academies of Paris and Berlin also, if he had been a Frenchman. His works were mentioned and quoted everywhere with

praise; but he was particularly flattered by the approbation of Lessing and Prince Lewis of Wurtemberg.

Still, he had not as yet acquired, in a substantial office, sufficient provision for his old age. On this account, he was desirous of obtaining a canonship at the Rotonda, where there was no choir; and, when a suitable opportunity presented itself, he made his wish known to the Pope himself. One Sunday, in the beginning of August, 1765, Clement XIII. surprised the Cardinal Albani with a visit at his villa, without the city. Winckelmann was dressed in colored clothes, as it is usual in the country, and was sitting under the portico, seeking for a passage in the *Dionysiacus* of Nonnius, when the Pope, accompanied by Albani and a cardinal chamberlain, was about to depart. "Adieu, Mr. Abbé there, with the book in his hand," his Holiness exclaimed. Winckelmann, in his surprise, forgot to make the customary genuflexion; and the major-domo said, "I do not believe, your Holiness, that he is reading an edifying book; it is probably a profane one, or even heretical." The cardinal chamberlain, who was his great patron, took it out of his hand, and said, "Yes, indeed, it is more than profane." "I wish your Holiness also to know," rejoined the major-domo, "that the Abbé Winckelmann rejected a canonship at the Bocca della Verità because he is not willing to say the breviary." "I beg your pardon," replied Winckelmann; "it was because I did not wish to lose the time in the choir; and it will be shown that I speak the truth, if his Holiness vouchsafes to confer upon me a can-



onship at the Rotonda"; and with these words, he kissed the Pope's slipper. But no place was vacant there, nor likely to be soon. Although this, together with other circumstances, seemed to indicate a determination to spend his days in Rome, and the place in question was the only one, as it afterwards appeared, in which he could live according to his taste, still a longing for a change of residence would occasionally manifest itself. The craving for friendship, which, with the exception of that of the Cardinal Albani, he lacked in Rome, had a great share in this uneasiness, since his most intimate friend, the Abbé Ruggieri, had shot himself whilst suffering from deep melancholy. He was a man who spoke much and earnestly; his word had great weight. Heart and mind inclined Winckelmann towards him; and the friendship was of equal strength on both sides. When Winckelmann lost him, — and Albani's age did not allow the hope that he would long survive, — his eye sometimes turned to Saxony, where he was not forgotten. Sometimes, he wished to pass his life, for the future, with the Baron von Berg; then, again, he thought of residing among his friends in Zürich, or even in the cloister of Weddingen, — which he supposed to be only one hour's distance from the city, instead of three.

In the mean while, Frederic the Great, in the summer of 1765, gave him an invitation through Colonel Quintus Icilius to the place of Gautier la Croze, superintendent of the library and cabinet of antiquities, who had just died. Frederic Nicolai, by direction of the Colonel, wrote to Winckelmann, and gave him to understand that he might demand

a salary of fifteen hundred to two thousand thalers (from \$1,200 to \$1,600). Winckelmann immediately informed his friend the Cardinal of the proposition, and, with his consent, he let the Colonel know the conditions on which he would be willing to exchange Rome for Berlin. He demanded a yearly income of two thousand thalers; but the king would consent only to one half of the sum, and consequently the negotiation ceased. "The king is not aware that a man who forsakes Rome for Berlin, and who needs not make a tender of his services, should receive at least as much as one to whom a call is sent from the Frozen Ocean, from St. Petersburg.\* Yet he ought to know that I can be of more advantage than a mathematician; and that the experience merely of ten years in Rome is far more expensive than just the same number of years spent in calculating proportions, parabolic lines, — which can be done in Tobolsk as well as in Smyrna. The first time, it was the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel that started me up; no one will succeed in doing it a third time. I can say with an equal degree of aptness what a castrato said, in a similar case, at Berlin: — *Eh, bene! faccia cantare il suo generale!* — "O, well! then make your general sing."

At a later period, the king — having received as a gift, through Muzel Stosch, the *Monumenti* and all the other writings of Winckelmann — formed from them an extremely favorable opinion of the author, the assurance of which was communicated to him by letter through Herr von Catt. He thought that

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\* Mauvertuis.

he knew Winckelmann, — believing him to have once been auditor of a regiment in his army. But the king seems to have confounded him with a certain Ewald of Spandau, who was for a long time roving about the world, and who finally went to Rome, where Winckelmann had much trouble with him.

We shall know fully how busy he was during these years, if, to his other occupations, we now add his extensive correspondence with Franke, Berends, Heyne, Muzel Stoseh, Riedesel, Volkmann, with his friends in Switzerland and Spain, with learned men in Italy and France, with travellers in Asia, Greece, and Egypt. We are, therefore, disposed to believe him readily, when he says that he was a tortured worm, and that he did not expect any rest until he reached that place to which the Indian wished to go with his beloved dog. At times, he was assailed by letters containing a hundred inquiries; and in many of them occurred requests of so strange a character, that once he thought a desire would also be expressed at the close of the letter for a Roman clothes-brush, and a pair of scissors for cutting the hairs in the nose.

## CHAPTER XI.

### *Fourth Journey to Naples.*

IN the spring of 1765, a favorable opportunity of again visiting Naples — in company with John Wilkes, the celebrated champion of English liberty — presented itself, and he was desirous of taking advantage of it. But he supposed that his *Account of the Latest Discoveries at Herculaneum* had shut against him the treasuries of art in that city. Camillo Paderni had renounced all friendship towards him; and the Spanish colonel who directed the excavations was so little satisfied with the notice of himself, that he might give Winckelmann a sound thrashing. The beating would have been still more disgraceful than a gash on the face, with which Barthélemy might have got quit of a duel to which he was challenged, when in Capua, by an officer; the latter would not look quite so badly on an archaeologist. But after several years, especially from the expectation of meeting his dear friend Riedesel, he put all considerations aside, and in September, 1767, he started off, with the intention of visiting, not only Naples, but also Sicily. Contrary to his expectations, he found fewer enemies than he had anticipated. He therefore ventured to show himself at court, where he was graciously received, and permitted to see and enjoy everything to his wish.

He lodged and ate with D' Hancarville, with whom he had been brought into an interchange of letters by means of Hamilton, the English Ambassador. About the year 1750, this celebrated adventurer was at Berlin, under the title of Count Ducourt, and allowed the French Ambassador to present him at court. But as the police of Frankfort came in search of him, either on account of his drawing false bills of exchange or of his debts, he was imprisoned; and it then appeared that he was the son of a trader of Marseilles. This circumstance gave rise to the epigram on him, —

“He attends the concert and the supper; and on the next  
Morning he is — where? in prison.”

During his imprisonment, he had his *Politique Calculée* printed. Prince Lewis of Wurtemberg, who at that time was serving as a volunteer under Marshal Daun, paid his debts, and took him into his service. It was supposed that the prince was seeking to get possession of the island of Corsica, and to win the princess of Brazil as a bride, and that he made use of D' Hancarville as a negotiator. This, however, is contradicted by Count Lamberg. In 1759, Winckelmann became acquainted with him in Rome, where he called himself the Baron du Han. He had a wife, or, as it was believed, a mistress, living with him; and, on account of his debts, he was obliged to sell everything at auction. From this city he directed his course to Naples, where the English Ambassador received him, in whose house and through whose assistance he published the splendid engravings of the celebrated *Hamilton Vases*, from which he made a great profit. At a later period, he fell out

with the minister Tanucci, and in a panic fear fled hastily from the kingdom. The Grand-Duke of Tuscany gave him protection, and intrusted him with the superintendence of the copper-plate engraving of the Medici family, — by which he might have become rich, if he had only been able to hold fast his luck. Here also he did not remain a long time; and I learn from one who became acquainted with him at Venice and Padua, at the beginning of the present century, that he resided there a longer time.

I have thought that it would not be uninteresting to bring together here, briefly, everything known to me relating to this notorious individual. Winckelmann saw that his heart was not bad; and he was very much attracted by his ardent letters, which would have warmed even a cold-blooded Scotchman.

He made with his friend Riedesel and him a trip to Vesuvius, as, during their stay at Naples, a fearful eruption of the mountain occurred. It began on Monday, about midnight, whilst Winckelmann was at Caserta with Vanvitelli, the royal architect. Every part of their house was strained, and the whole country was covered with ashes, — which is a black gravel. In the middle of the week he went back to Naples, and towards evening of the same day he, Riedesel, and D' Hancarville, together with three servants with torches, and a guide, betook themselves, like Pliny the elder, to Portici, and over the ancient lava towards the new. After a walk of two hours, — the most toilsome that Winckelmann, though otherwise a good pedestrian, ever undertook in his whole life, — they were forced, in order to reach the mouth of the crater, to pass across the



burning lava; but their guide refused to accompany them. After all other means had been tried and had failed, he was beaten with a stick until he was willing to go; and then D' Hancarville went on in front with a torch, and his two companions followed him. The leather of their shoes cracked, and the soles were even scorched. They reached, however, the mouth of the crater, although it was hard to be distinguished on account of the quantity of ashes about it. Here they entirely stripped themselves, in order to dry their shirts, which were wet with perspiration. They laid pigeons on the fiery stream, and, naked as the Cyclops, made their repast. About midnight they started to return, and, notwithstanding much peril, safely reached their carriages near Resina, where they emptied a couple of flasks of *Lagrime Christi* in the open air, amid the tumult caused by those who were fleeing on account of the shaking and cracking of their houses. Winckelmann says that he can give no better idea of the roar of such an eruption, than by comparing it to the bombardment of a city with the heaviest artillery. If the fiery stream had not divided, and filled a deep valley with lava as high as a palace, Portici and the Museum of Antiquities there would have been destroyed.

Winckelmann would have considered this grand spectacle of nature alone a compensation for the journey, even if he had seen no new treasures of art. He saw, however, a number; and they serve as embellishments to his *History of Art*. But the jealousy of the Neapolitans was even greater, if possible, than in former years; thus, for example, he was not permitted to walk with regular steps, because it

was supposed that he was measuring dimensions, — which was actually the case; and certain newly discovered articles, which were considered remarkable, were at first kept shut up. But, on this account, he in return could not be induced to give the signification of a very beautiful statue which had been discovered at Baiæ, and which it was impossible to repair without a correct knowledge of what it was intended to represent. If he had only been permitted to take an outline of it, he would have been prepared for the explanation.

He had, heretofore, received from Tanucci, as a present, the published volumes of the *Herculaneum Museum*, immediately on their appearance; but it now seemed that he was not going to get the fifth volume, containing the images in bronze, although he had presented to the minister a copy of his *Monumenti*, superbly bound. Nothing complete and concise, however, could be given in that work, partly on account of the singular distribution of the labor among the members of the Academy, — to whom was assigned the explanation of the antiquities of Herculaneum, — and partly on account of an inordinate desire to treat everything diffusely, and to overload with quotations from every book bearing on the subject.

The most learned men were Mazzocchi and his pupil Martorelli. The eyes of all were turned towards them, when the king was seeking a man to explain the antiquities. But the former was old, infirm, absorbed in other pursuits, and extremely modest; the latter had not pleased the court in his *Regia Theca Calamaria*, “The Royal Pencase.” These were the reasons which brought the prelate Baiardi from Rome, and placed him in the direction. His inflammable

fancy emitted flashes; his memory had swallowed all the branches of sacred and profane literature; and he seemed to surpass in cultivation the many-sided Bianchini, Apostolo Zeno, and Maffei. Great expectations were formed; but he was not the man to satisfy them. The king was desirous of responding to the wish of the learned men of Europe; and he requested the prelate to write upon Herculaneum. Baiardi gives his memory and his note-book a jog; prepares his two quartos of *Preface*, — in which he assails many received opinions with all the courage of Bayard, the knight “without fear and without reproach,” from whom he claimed descent; speaks of Persian, Babylonian, Egyptian, and Grecian proportions; and among many incursions into ancient geography, mythology, and history, falls upon Heraclea, Heracles, Heraclidæ, — but says nothing of Herculaneum. He sends into the world the third, fourth, and fifth volumes; but still he has not yet got into his subject; —

“Semper ad eventum festinat et in medias res  
 . . . . . auditorem rapit.”

He is always hastening to a close, and carrying his  
 Hearer into the midst of the subject.

He was now entreated to come to a stop on this smooth road. Filled with spite, he returned to Rome, and threatened the Academy and the whole learned world to continue his *Preface* to its conclusion, — which would be in the seventh volume. But we were rescued from this evil by means of the seventh prayer.\*

After a stay of two months, Winckelmann left Naples, in November, on his return to Rome.

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\* A reference to that portion of the Lord's Prayer which says, “But deliver us from evil.” — TR.

## CHAPTER XII.

### *Last Residence in Rome. — Journey to Germany.*

DURING the winter he was employed in elaborating his *History of Art*, — the more earnestly, because he intended to make in the spring a great journey, either with Riedesel to Greece, or to his friends in Germany; not meaning, however, to leave Rome for ever. For more serious attempts were made now than ever before, to engage him by an appointment for life; partly because the proposal of the king of Prussia was known, and partly because it was seen that he was the only man in Rome who possessed a critical knowledge of the Greek language. “So much have we degenerated,” he writes to Munchausen; “and this is the result of education, which is in the hands of the priesthood. Mathematicians start up like mushrooms, and the fruit matures, without much pains, in twenty-five years; whereas fifty years, or more, are requisite for the study of the Greek language.” It appears that the place of custodian in the Vatican would not have been beyond his reach; his friend, the Cardinal, was very active in his favor, although he now began, on account of his increasing years, to have occasionally somewhat singular whims, as we perceive in several of Winckelmann’s last letters to Riedesel, in which no one but

Albani, under the name of Brausewind, is meant; indeed, he even showed himself a bigot. Winckelmann, previously to his journey to Naples, had passed an unpleasant visit with him at his villa, of which his sister, the Princess Theresa Albani, was the occasion. She spread false and injurious tales concerning him in regard to religion, because she believed that he stood in the way of her influence over the Cardinal. Attempts were made to extract from disconnected words, that were wrung from him, something which might put him into the power of the most fearful of all tribunals, although he asserts that there were no grounds for thinking unfavorably of him in this particular. These, however, were only passing clouds; his friend's heart was manifestly not affected by them, since Albani, on the occasion of his approaching departure, could not refrain from showing that he was very much afraid lest Winckelmann might, perchance, remain in Germany.

As Winckelmann had concluded to give to a journey into his native land the preference over that to Greece, he received, in March, 1768, from his friend, the Cardinal, and from his superiors, full permission to depart. But he was not, on this account, willing to give up the intention of visiting the ever-memorable sites of science and art. Indeed, he designed that this journey should even be a help to the other; for he thought that, by the assistance of the great, he might be enabled to carry out his plan of undertaking excavations in Elis. On this project, a learned man has only a short time ago again commented to Winckelmann's honor; since, from several valuable discoveries made there, this beautiful idea has proved



to be also a fortunate one. It is doubtful whether England would now be in possession of the Elgin marbles, so called, if he who conceived that idea had been spared to execute it.

On the 10th of April, Winckelmann left Rome, on his way to Germany. He travelled in company with Cavaceppi, a skilful sculptor, who, from love to him, and a desire to see foreign lands and new things, wished to make the journey with him. Their way lay through Loretto, Bologna, Verona, Venice, and other places, in all which they visited the monuments of art. When they were in the Tyrol,—where Winckelmann, when on his journey to Rome, was so much affected by the grandeur of Nature that he could not find words to describe his feelings,—he said at once to his companion, “See! my friend, what a fearful and horrible country! what mountains of immeasurable height!” And when they were on German soil, he exclaimed, in a tone which indicated absolute disgust, “What a tasteless style of building! Only look at the peaked roofs!” Cavaceppi at first believed him to be in jest; but when he saw that he was serious, he said that these mountains struck him as grand and lofty, and that he looked upon them with pleasure and astonishment; but in regard to the houses, they ought rather to be unpleasing to him, as he was an Italian, than to his friend; nevertheless, the climate and frequent snows rendered this style of building necessary. Even before they had reached Augsburg, Winckelmann proposed to return again to Italy; but Cavaceppi declined. They therefore arrived at Augsburg, and thence went to Munich, though Winckelmann felt



no greater pleasure in Germany than before. "Let us return to Rome," he repeated a hundred times.

In Munich, much honor was shown him; and, among other things, he was presented with a beautiful antique gem in intaglio, upon which he set great value. But all this could not dispel his melancholy; and not without difficulty did Cavaceppi get him to Regensburg. At this place, he firmly made up his mind to return. His companion represented to him that, in doing so, he would not act handsomely by his friend, who from love to him had undertaken the journey, and who would find himself deserted in a country with the language and customs of which he was unacquainted; and finally he expressed his indignation at such treatment. The sole reply which Winckelmann made to him was, that he was well aware how unkindly he was acting towards his friend, but he felt so strong an impulse to do as he was doing, that it was impossible for him to act otherwise. He seated himself, and wrote two letters; one to Albani, to whom he announced his speedy return; the other to the engraver Magalli, his friend, whom he entreated to get his lodgings and other things ready, for he should soon have occasion to use them. Only the most urgent representations induced him still to accompany his friend as far as Vienna; but he went, downcast and sad. They arrived there on the 12th of May, and made their visits immediately. Prince Kaunitz — whom Cavaceppi had found an opportunity to acquaint with the strange mental distraction of his friend — said to Winckelmann, "How can you have the heart to forsake your dear friend in a foreign land? I entreat

you, which I can do, yet to change your mind." It was in vain. Winckelmann turned pale; his eyes became dim; he trembled, and was struck dumb. At the sight of this manifest suffering of soul and body, Cavaceppi, taking him by the hand, said, in a gentle tone of voice, "Dear friend! you are doing wrong; but since it so pleases you, think only of yourself. May God protect you!" Winckelmann's emotion on this occasion was so violent, that he was attacked by fever, which compelled him to keep his bed for several days. Cavaceppi then left him in the house of Herr Schmidtmeier, — where he got well, — and ceased to visit him, lest his presence might be an annoyance to him.

Winckelmann lingered here until near the end of May. During this time, he was presented by the Baron Sperges to her Majesty, the Empress Theresa, who treated him very graciously, and presented him with two silver medallions, and with one of gold. She plainly expressed to him her wish that he would remain in Vienna, — a wish which was, undoubtedly, seconded by the Prince Kaunitz, who also gladdened him with the gift of a gold medallion. In a letter to the Cardinal Albani, he manifested an uncommon degree of satisfaction with his reception at Vienna, and boasted, in particular, that Kaunitz had received him *con la solita sua gentilezza*, "with his accustomed courtesy." After mentioning the advantageous offers which had been made to him, he adds, *Io assicuro l' Eminenza Vostra, che tutto l' oro del mondo non potrebbe movermi da Roma*, — "I assure your Excellency, that all the gold in the world would not move me from Rome." On

the 28th of May, he departed; and in the middle of the week, on the 1st of June, about twelve o'clock, he arrived quite alone in a post-coach before the great hotel on Peter's Square, in Trieste.

Here he obtained a room which had two windows overlooking the inner harbor, — named Mandrachio, — and one, the area of the house. Near him, in a small chamber, lodged an unknown stranger, who, two days before, almost at the same time that Winckelmann started from Vienna, had arrived, without luggage and on foot, from Venice. The two were also, accidentally, neighbors again at table, — the service of which began shortly after twelve o'clock. At table, Winckelmann inquired of the host, whether there was a vessel about to sail for Venice. On the host replying that he knew of none, the stranger at Winckelmann's side immediately remarked that he knew of one, namely, that of the Captain Ragusini. Winckelmann begged him to point out the vessel, and the stranger offered to show it to him, after dinner, from the window, for it was then lying in the Mandrachio. When this was done, Winckelmann asked of him the further favor, to accompany him to the harbor, that he might speak to the captain himself. They found him; but his cargo was not yet complete, and consequently he was not ready to sail. Winckelmann, however, heard on this occasion of another captain, who was bound to Ancona, and who would certainly sail during the week. As the captain happened to be absent at the time, they returned to the hotel, in order to take their midday repose. They awoke about five o'clock, and, placing themselves at the window, spoke

again of the opportunity of getting to Ancona, and went out together for the purpose of seeking the captain. They found him, and Winckelmann promised him a gratuity of two ducats more than the usual passage-money, if he would get away on the next Saturday, or Sunday, at the latest; and the captain promised to do it.

Winckelmann was pleased at making the arrangement which he wished, and, thanking his polite companion for his trouble, the two went into a coffee-house to drink a cup of coffee together, and thence to their hotel. The stranger took yet another walk through the city; and, on his return to the hotel, had three cups of coffee taken to his chamber at different times; one of them he sent to Winckelmann, who did not receive it, remarking that he had not ordered it. Notwithstanding, after twilight, when lights were brought, he visited his neighbor in his chamber, and engaged in trivial conversation of all kinds with him, until the servants came in with supper for both, — Winckelmann, however, according to his custom, partaking only of bread and wine.

From this time forward they went every morning to walk together, and then to breakfast in the coffee-house. Here they also met once or twice during the day. In like manner, they found themselves near one another at the midday meal in the hotel. In the evening, too, they took a walk in company, and Winckelmann, on his return, generally ate his bread and wine in his neighbor's chamber.

After a companionship of three days, during which neither knew the family name of the other, — since

they addressed each other, after the Italian custom, only as Francis and John, — the stranger at last, whilst they were walking together, questioned his companion in regard to his standing and name, under the false pretence, not of gratifying his own curiosity, but merely of satisfying the inquiries which had already been repeatedly made of him by their host. Winckelmann replied, that he was not a suspicious and bad character; and that, on their return to the inn, he would give him evidence of it. This he actually did; for he showed, not only his passport, but also a letter of introduction to the mercantile houses of Lucchesi in Görz and Tamozzi in Venice, and added, that in Vienna he had received, as gifts, a gold medallion from Prince Kaunitz, and one gold and two silver ones from the Empress.

The stranger was named Francis Arcangeli. So far from having been questioned, in regard to Winckelmann's character, by the host, he had, on the contrary, voluntarily stated to the latter that he was a reputable man. He narrowly watched Winckelmann's actions; consequently, he perceived him to be a timid man, and that, for instance, when he bought snuff, or paid for anything, he was embarrassed by the reckoning.

On the evening of the 4th, or early on the 5th of June, whilst the two were walking together, it seems that Arcangeli, in talking about the medallions of which we have spoken, induced Winckelmann to promise that he would show them to him. This he did, on Sunday, the 5th of June, before they went to the midday meal, inviting him into his room, and showing him the coins. In the afternoon, Arcangeli



talked about them to the keeper of the coffee-house, with the remark that he presumed the owner to be a Jew.

The vessel bound to Ancona had not, on Sunday, completed her lading, thereby adding to Winckelmann's impatience. On the Monday following, he made the skipper give him earnest-money to the amount of ten pauls (one dollar), as a guaranty that he would get away, without fail, on Tuesday. Nevertheless, he did not sail; and Winckelmann now declared that, under such circumstances, he would rather travel to Venice by land; this, however, he failed to do.

It was the middle of the week. Arcangeli went out alone, without saying good morning to his neighbor. Winckelmann followed him shortly afterwards, but found that his acquaintance was no longer in the coffee-house. He therefore immediately returned to his lodgings, took off his upper garments and cravat, and seated himself at a table between the two windows which looked towards the sea, and commenced writing. Arcangeli came into the room towards him. Winckelmann stood up, and advanced to meet him in a friendly way. The two walked up and down the chamber, talking principally of the approaching departure of the latter on the evening of that day. Full of joy at the thought of seeing Rome again, Winckelmann invited his acquaintance to come there; told him about the palace of his patron, the Cardinal Albani, and promised, in the most cordial manner, to show him, if ever he should come to Rome, this building with its works of art, and to prove to him how generally he was esteemed in Rome.



They chatted in this manner until after ten o'clock, about which time Arcangeli went to his chamber, confirmed by the conversation in his opinion that Winckelmann was either a Lutheran, a Jew, a spy, or a low person; but he returned immediately, under the pretence that he had forgotten his handkerchief, and he inquired, apparently quite accidentally, if he would not show his beautiful coins at the dinner-table. Winckelmann replied, that he did not wish to draw attention to himself. Arcangeli now inquired why he was not willing to tell frankly who he was. Winckelmann, thinking the question too bold, said, "I do not wish to be known"; and seated himself at his writing-table without taking any further notice of him.

Upon this, Arcangeli suddenly threw, from behind, a noose over Winckelmann's head, and tightened it. Winckelmann sprang up, and violently pushed him away. But when Arcangeli drew a knife, they wrestled together. Winckelmann fell backward, his adversary on top, who gave him five stabs. In the mean time a servant came, having been attracted by the noise, and saw the murderer still lying on Winckelmann, and with his face turned towards the door. As soon as Arcangeli saw him, he sprang up, thrust him away from the door, and ran off without coat or hat.

The servant went to raise Winckelmann, but he had already lifted himself up. Opening his shirt, and showing the wounds, — from which much blood was flowing, — he said, "See what he has done to me!" In the confusion, the servant hastened to get a surgeon; and Winckelmann, seeking for assistance,

went below stairs. Here he met a maid-servant, but she, in her fright, only ran for a confessor or physician. After a considerable delay, some one was at length found, who loosened the noose from his neck. As he began to fall, he was supported, carried back to his chamber, and laid upon the couch.

A physician came. He examined the wounds. Winckelmann looked quietly on, and inquired if they were fatal. The physician replied, that two in particular were fatal. Winckelmann said nothing.

He was undressed, and laid upon a mattress. His wounds were dressed; and to inquiries that were made in regard to the occurrence, he made signs that he was unable to speak. He merely said, "The person who lodged in the adjoining chamber murderously assailed me." In the mean while a police-officer had arrived, who, on hearing these words, immediately gave directions to pursue the murderer.

A Capuchin heard the confession of the unfortunate man; and another priest administered the sacrament and extreme unction.

A judicial commission came to make an investigation. Winckelmann, however, although desirous of writing, was unable to do so. From time to time, as he recovered himself, the commission put inquiries to him. To the first question, "Who are you?" he answered that he was too much oppressed to be able to speak, but he pointed to his portmanteau, in which his passport would be found. It said:—*Joanni Winckelmann, prefecto antiquitatum Romæ. In albam urbem redit.*— "To John Winckelmann, Superintendent of Antiquities of Rome. He is returning to the Holy City."

In the afternoon, his will was legally drawn up; but at that time he was not able to put his signature to it; and about four o'clock he died.

In the official account it is said: "He died with heroic courage and true Christian piety, making no complaint against his murderer, but rather forgiving him from his heart, as his fellow-man, and with the wish that he were near him, — if it could be done without danger, — that he might give him his hand in token of reconciliation."

His will reads thus: —

"In the name of God, Amen. In the middle of the week, namely, the 8th of June, in the year of our Lord 1768, at the hotel situated on the principal Square of the city of Trieste, &c.

"John Winckelmann, who lies in bed, in a chamber — facing the harbor — of the said hotel, grievously and fatally wounded, but being perfectly in his senses, has by the present public will, declared, not written (*quod dicitur sine scriptis*), disposed of his entire possessions in the following manner.

"First of all, he recommends his soul to Almighty God, to the holy Virgin Mary, and to all the saints, with the prayer that they may intercede with the Divine Majesty for the remission of his sins, and that God may be pleased, through his infinite mercy, to receive his soul, when it shall be separated from the body, among the number of the blessed in heaven; and, whilst surrendering his body to its mother Earth, he directs that it may receive church burial (*ecclesiastica sepultura*).

"He also orders and directs that three hundred and fifty ducats be given to his copper-engraver,

D. Mogali, who is well known to the Lord-Cardinal Albani. This sum, and the place where it may be found, are already known to the musician Annibali.

“He also bequeathes to the Abbé Piremei, and directs that one hundred ducats be given to him outright. This sum is in the keeping of the painter Maron.

“Also, he bequeathes to the poor-box of Trieste twenty ducats.

“Also, he bequeathes ten scudi (dollars) for masses for the salvation of his soul.

“Also, to the waiter of the hotel, ten scudi.

“He devises and wills that his entire remaining property, his claims, simple and mixed, including his rights, both tacit and express, without any exception, be disposed of, without restriction, according to the judgment and wish of the Cardinal Alexander Albani, his most gracious lord and patron.”

*Seals.*

*Signatures.*

Besides this, he also left a literary will, relating to a future edition of his *History of Art*, written by his own hand, as if he had had some foreboding of his end. It lay upon the table; the murderer surprised him before it was entirely completed.

1. The proper names are not to be printed in larger letters, because this mars the uniformity of the page.

2. The indices are to be arranged in the following manner, &c. “Precisely as we have arranged them,” add the publishers of the Vienna edition. But it would have been better if they had left the author’s words unabridged. However, they there stand

in the following order: — 1. Systematic Index. 2. Index of Engravings. 3. Index of Authors quoted. 4. Table of Contents.

3. The passages cited are to be arranged in their numerical order, and not opposite one to another.

4. No change is to be made in the text; also, no remarks by others shall be introduced.

5. There shall — (Here Fate cut the thread.)

This testament I made to comprehend the entire works, and sought to fulfil it conscientiously in its essential points. Some deviations which it was necessary to make are to be ascribed, partly to a change of circumstances, and partly to the fact that Winckelmann unquestionably drew up these directions for his intended French edition, of which there is so much said in his last letters to Muzel Stosch; but here is a German edition. In consideration of this difference, may his Manes look kindly down upon the deviation.

*List of Effects found on him.*

In the right pocket of his breeches were one piece of twenty kreuzers, one of ten, two of seventeen, two groschen, thirteen imperial soldi, and two half-soldi.

Also, a green silk purse, containing, in one end, eighty-four imperial ducats; and, in the other smaller end, twelve Roman half-pauls and one whole one, and six Florentine half-pauls.

In the left pocket was another green silk purse, one end of which held seventy-nine Papal ducats and a half, and one Dutch ducat; the other smaller end, fourteen Papal ducats, four imperial, two Kremnitz and two Dutch ducats, and five Louis d'or.

Also, a magnifying-glass with a silver setting, in a silver box with a leather covering; a Roman measure; a key, covered with linen; a pair of silver buckles for the breeches; a gold watch; a pair of gold buttons with carnelian.

I do not know how to explain why we miss in this list the medallions received in Vienna, the engraved gem given him at Munich, his noble Homer, the manuscripts and the box for Albani, — all of which he still had with him.

His body was buried without display, on the 9th of June, in the cemetery of the Church of St. Justus, in the allotment belonging to a brotherhood. Hence it happened, that, when his earthly remains were crowded by other new arrivals, they were collected together, and thrown into the general ossuary, and could no longer be recognized.

Belonging half to the Germans, and half to the Italians, his torch was extinguished on the boundary line of the two countries, even as it had enlightened both. In vain did the traveller from foreign lands inquire after the grave of the son of the Muses, born at Stendal; no one knew it. Within a few years, the noble Dominico Rosetti, aided by those who honor the father of the history of art, have erected to him, on a public square in Trieste, a beautiful monument, executed from Carrara and Venetian marble by the sculptor Antonio Bosa.

The news of Winckelmann's murder was sad tidings to all the learned world. Cavaceppi, his travelling companion, heard it with amazement, for the first time, from the mouth of the king of Prussia,



when paying his respects to him at Berlin. But no one appeared to have felt his loss more deeply than Lessing; he wrote to Nicolai: "The news of Winckelmann's death is confirmed, as I learn from the newspapers. He is the second author, within a brief space, to whom I would cheerfully have given two years of my own life." Praise like this outweighs the most brilliant address before an academy.

It seems not out of the way, here, to give some information concerning the relation of these two authors to each other. We know that Lessing, in his *Laocoön*, decries the *History of Art*, which had just appeared, and makes his remarks about some passages in it. Winckelmann was informed of this by letters from his friends in Germany; and, in consequence, he wrote to the bookseller Walther, of Dresden: "From a letter received to-day, I learn that a professor at Halle, of the name of Klotz, has published some remarks against the *Allegory*. Lessing, also, a well-known poet, as I am assured, and private tutor of a student at Halle, has written against me, in reference to the *Laocoön*. I beg you to send the two immediately, for I am keeping back the *Preface* [to the *Notes upon the History of Art*] thus long, in order to give in it an answer to both." At an earlier date he wrote to the same: "I do not know how you can imagine that I should be willing to insert even a refutation of the Halle men — one of whom is a young bear-leader\* — in the work [the *Notes* mentioned above], and in an investigation touching venerable antiquity and high art, — which must remain a mystery to them both."

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\* Lessing.

He received the *Laocoön* of Lessing, and read it. In a letter to Muzel Stosch, he says: "I have read Lessing's book. It is beautifully written, although not free from conspicuous errors of language. But the man has so little knowledge, that no answer would satisfy him. It would be easier to convince an inhabitant of the Ukraine, one of sound understanding, than a college wit who wishes to distinguish himself by paradoxes. I may, therefore, be excused from answering him." This judgment — manifestly as unjust, as the opinion that Lessing was a private tutor or professor at Halle is erroneous — is the result of offended vanity, unable patiently to endure censure, though in the softest tone, and with the most delicate turns of expression. Lessing, even in his inclinations, was averse to scholastic learning, and free from academic bondage; and, from whatever place his wit originated, it certainly did not originate from a university. It is honor enough to him to say, that he positively refused to allow the offensive passage cited above to be erased from the letters to Muzel Stosch, although the latter wished to suppress it, and he himself had the entire collection a long time in his hands for revision, before it was published. Real merit is rendered more brilliant by groundless censure. But Winckelmann could be unjust only when in a passion, and he could not remain so without cause. He amends his fault in another letter to one of his friends, in the following words: "The extracts from Lessing's book — which to me are a proof of no common friendship — are more meritorious than the *Description* of the villa of the Cardinal. It does not lessen the value of

these extracts, that I had previously received the work itself from Dresden. Lessing — of whose writings I had, alas! read nothing — writes as one would wish to have written; and, if I had not heard from you of his journey, I should have written a paper in anticipation of him. He deserves, therefore, a fitting reply on those points which can be defended. As it is honorable to be praised by the worthy, so also it may be honorable to be considered deserving of the criticism of the worthy.”

When Lessing, in the autumn of 1768, was about to travel to Rome, with the intention of residing there for some time, every one to whom he spoke of it thought that he had it in mind to be Winckelmann's successor. “But what,” he says in a letter to Ebert, “have Winckelmann and the plan which he formed for himself in Italy to do with my journey? No one can value him more highly than I do; but yet I might be just as unwilling to be Winckelmann, as I often am to be Lessing.” He gave a new proof of his esteem for Winckelmann by wishing to publish an edition of the *History of Art*, with corrections and additions by his own hand, — for which purpose he made notes on the margin of his copy. Whatever from this source, and from his other writings relative to the subject, has become known to me, I have carefully recorded in its proper place. The office of superintendent of antiquities in Rome was conferred on Battista Visconti, and then on his worthy son, Ennius Quirinus Visconti, — celebrated by his *Museo Pio-Clementino*.

I have very faithfully narrated the sad fate of the great German, — great in his department, — from the

official account in Rossetti's memoir, *The last Week of Winckelmann's Life*. I will now communicate some details, also from the same source, in regard to the assassin Arcangeli, and his fate.

Francesco Arcangeli was a native of Campiglio, a village not far from Pistoia in Tuscany, where his father owned several pieces of land. In the sixteenth year of his age he went under the instruction of a cook who was serving a prince in Florence. At the expiration of two years, he himself became cook in the house of a certain Count Bardi, where he remained five years. He then performed the same service for two years with one Antonio Baldinotti, until he was engaged to accompany, as valet, one of his sons to Vienna. From this service, in which he remained only five weeks, he went into that of Count Cottaldi. After some time, he stole from his master between five and six hundred pieces of gold. He fled to Presburg, and, having bought a Hungarian dress, endeavored in this disguise to get to Italy by the way of Vienna, Grätz, and Laybach. At the last place, however, he was arrested, and, the stolen money having been taken from him, was sent to Vienna. He was brought before the Criminal Court, by which he was sentenced, in May, 1764, to four years' imprisonment in irons, and expulsion from the country on his discharge.

In the year 1767, on occasion of the marriage of the Archduke Leopold, many criminals received a remission of part of their term of imprisonment. This act of grace was extended also to Arcangeli. He obtained his release on the 14th of May of the same year. Before leaving the imperial territory, he asso-

ciated with himself an errand-girl, who had probably been in the same prison with him. He gave out that she was his wife; and with her he betook himself to Venice. Here he furnished a small dwelling with the money — about four hundred and thirty-six florins (\$170) — which she is said to have brought him, and seventy florins of his own money.

In August, 1767, he went for the first time to Trieste, in search of a situation, and remained there fourteen days. In May, 1768, fate carried him there again, as we have already seen.

His attempt on Winckelmann's life was fully premeditated; for the cord — which had been doubled and twisted to form a noose — and the sheath-knife were actually bought in Trieste with a view to this horrid deed, by which he hoped to obtain possession of the two gold and two silver medallions that he had seen in his neighbor's hands. He never saw Winckelmann have any other gold-pieces than these; the latter, indeed, was careful not to take out his purse of gold in the other's presence, although Arcangeli once tried to bring him to do so, by asking him to change a seventeen-kreuzer piece, in order that he might pay the barber. Winckelmann preferred to give him two groschen rather than to change the gold-piece, because he would, probably, have been obliged to take out his purse; indeed, he once even expressed a doubt to Arcangeli whether he should have money enough to continue his journey. If any one, therefore, should be disposed to cast censure upon the unfortunate man for want of caution towards a stranger, it must be limited entirely to the showing of the medallions.

The assassin fled when he saw the waiter at Winckelmann's door, — as I have already related, — and even escaped out of the city, notwithstanding the suspicious appearance of his dress. But he was hotly pursued, and, on the 13th or 14th of June, was arrested at Planina, by soldiers. As he had no passport, the commandant sent him to Adelsburg, where he confessed his crime to the prefect of the Circle, even on his first examination. This officer ordered him to be taken at once, under a suitable escort, to Trieste, where he arrived on the 15th of June, about midday.

The trial commenced without any delay, and was brought to a close on the 12th of July. On the 18th, sentence was pronounced upon him in the following words: "For the crime of murder, done by you on the body of John Winckelmann, on the morning of the 8th of June last, the honorable imperial royal Criminal Court has decreed that you, just as you are, shall be broken alive on the wheel, from the head to the feet, until your soul depart from your body; and that your dead body shall remain exposed upon the wheel." This sentence was executed on the 20th of July, at ten o'clock in the morning.



## CHAPTER XIII.

### *Winckelmann's Portrait. — His Merit.*

WINCKELMANN, in his exterior, was of a middling stature, and of a strong build. He had a brownish complexion, lively black eyes, full lips, an easy but noble carriage, and a quick movement. He took snuff, yet in a very cleanly manner, though without any apparent carefulness. He spoke German in the Saxon dialect; but he preferred Italian, whenever he could use it without embarrassment to any one. His voice was not loud, but clear and distinct; words flowed rapidly from his lips except when he taught, explained, or described. He was easily roused to anger, and, on subjects which excited his admiration, he quickly became pathetic.

He allowed his portrait to be painted several times; hence, we have a number of portraits of him. The first is by the Danish painter, Peter Hals, — executed in the spring of 1760, — with which Winckelmann was very much gratified. It is not known where this picture now is; probably it is in Denmark.

Another portrait seems to have been not a painting, but only a profile drawing, which was made by his questionable friend Casanova, about the year 1763, and from which Bartholomew Folin made a copper-plate engraving for the third volume of the *New Library of the Fine Arts*, Leipsic, 1766.

About this time, a second portrait of him was painted by Raphael Mengs, also his friend, which represents him as reading the Iliad; — handsomer than he, and yet like him, as the possessor of it affirmed. This portrait belonged to Azara, the Spanish Ambassador at Rome, and undoubtedly still remains in the family. A fine copper-plate engraving of it was made, from a drawing by Salesa, for Jansen's Paris edition of the *History of Art*; and a reduced copy, not very successfully executed, was made from this quarto sheet by Senff, in Dorpat, for Morgenstern's *Address on Winckelmann*. The best engraving made is by Blot, from the portrait itself.

The third portrait of him — a half-length — was painted in the summer of 1764, by the celebrated artist Angelica Kauffman, of Thornbüren, in Bregenzwald, for thirty ducats. It belongs to Henry Füessly, of Zurich, who is still living. He much prefers it to the likeness, presently to be mentioned, executed by Maron; and he writes to me, that it possesses a truly touching resemblance, united with the friendly, earnest expression which Winckelmann showed whenever he saw any one entering his room while he was in the midst of his occupations. The artist etched it herself; Mecheln of Basle engraved it on copper, and another, probably Reiffenstein, on steel; of the latter, however, only a few copies were distributed among friends. From this portrait was scraped also a copy, page-size, by J. C. Haid; and another was etched by J. L. Zentner, for the Paris edition of a collection of Winckelmann's letters; neither is of much merit.

A fourth portrait, a knee-piece, was painted for

Muzel Stosch by Antony Maron, the brother-in-law of Raphael Mengs, who was in Rome during the winter of 1767. Winckelmann is represented in a fur garment, and with a silk kerchief about his head. This picture now hangs in the ducal library at Weimar. Bause has carefully engraved it on copper; also, G. Carattoni, for Fea's Italian edition of the *History of Art*; and Lips, of Zürich, for the first volume of the Dresden collection of Winckelmann's writings. Lately, there has appeared an engraving from it, of life-size, though not very well executed, by Charles Müller, of Weimar; and it was lithographed for Rosetti's *Sepolcro di Winckelmann in Trieste*.

If Winckelmann's exterior was not altogether so prepossessing as to attract at first sight, yet, on a longer, familiar acquaintance, he was so much the more certain to please by the qualities of his head and heart. His earnestness imparted loftiness to friendship; his wealth of knowledge and experience gave value to his conversation, and the frankness with which he spoke before every one showed the man of decisive character. At times, perhaps, he ought to have put a check upon this openness, for his friends trembled more than once on his account. But he had firmly resolved: "I will, now that I am forty years of age, practise what I have hitherto learned; I will esteem no man who does not merit it; and I will not dissemble in the least."

Whoever made acquaintance with him might rely on his devotion, as well as on his readiness to serve; and whoever became his friend shared with him his soul. It seems, however, that the lofty qualities

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which he required in a friend, and which he himself possessed, were, during a long period, obscured at times by excessive sensitiveness. His kind and grateful heart is visible, from his earliest youth onwards, in regard to his parents, his patrons, and his friends. In his later years, it manifested itself in a touching manner towards Count Büнау, Father Leo Rauch, Füessly, Wille, towards Albani, Muzel Stosch, Riedesel, his native land, and desolated Saxony.

Having become great in the school of poverty and crosses, but having been moulded by the teachings of the lofty wise men of antiquity, he could not, from his natural disposition, do otherwise than appropriate to himself a strong character, and in the noblest sense human character. He was one among the few of his time who valued book-learning less than their own opinions, and who strove to make both applicable to life. On this account, he felt it especially incumbent on him to become an instructor of youth, — an inclination which accompanied him even to his later years. Fate led him on a different track; he was destined to become a universal teacher, a teacher of the beautiful; — *Σπάρταν ἔλαχες, ταύτην κόσμει, Thou didst obtain Sparta; adorn it;* — and trustily he fulfilled his calling.

In other respects, his life was simple and temperate; he knew neither luxury nor revelling; he thrust himself nowhere; he had no longing after places of honor, but he was earnestly desirous that his merit should be recognized. If at times, in letters to his friends, he expresses himself without the customary reserve upon the excellences of his works, we forgive him; it is the kind of vanity from which every

admirable book is born. He valued money understandingly; he did not wish to be rich; neither was he willing to be poor. After his death, it was discovered that he had been benevolent in a quiet way; and the schedule of the property which he left is an evidence of judicious economy.

He found satisfaction only in the charms of nature, and the beauties of art, in study, and intercourse with wise men, — for which abundant opportunities were furnished him by a happy destiny. He realized his good fortune; his heart was satisfied; and he numbered the years of his life solely from the commencement of his residence at Rome; just as Marcus Plantius Silvanus — who had been consul with Augustus, and had triumphed over the Illyrians — directed nine years only to be put upon his tomb as the duration of his life, namely, the time which he spent by himself in his country-seat at Tivoli. “Winckelmann, like an unencumbered pedestrian, departed with a joyous countenance from this world, as poor as he came into it.”

It might seem superfluous to bestow a word upon the estimation of his merit, if a celebrated learned man, who has written a eulogy upon him, had not strangely overlooked the pearls, and sought everywhere only for grains of corn. Winckelmann's highest distinction by no means consists in his having been a distinguished archaeologist; to place it on this ground would be like taking the moon for the sun. He shines most brightly — and even to the present day he has not been outshone — as an innate connoisseur and philosophic teacher of the beautiful and grand in plastic art, at a time when not



only good taste, but even the principles of good taste, appeared to have been lost. It required uncommon talent, united with self-relying boldness, to introduce other ideas on ancient art, and its relation to modern art, into the place of general, deep-rooted prejudices, and artistic degradation. He felt both within himself, and he obeyed the call of nature; he proved his power, considered the wants of the age, calculated the results, and with modest courage stepped, like a well-trained fighter, on the field, before severe and in part corrupt judges. Here, mere talk was of no avail; it was necessary to teach fundamentally; to make prejudices manifest; to show causes, illustrations, differences, and similitudes; indeed, to unveil, so far as it was possible, the nature of beauty itself. The numerous passages in his writings in which he appeared as such a teacher exceed in value and dignity everything else which his genius produced. No one had, as yet, written in this manner on the nature and aim of art. His elementary principles, especially in sculpture, also stand there, confirmed, even at the present day, not only in themselves, but also by the most pleasing results. We cannot censure the enthusiasm with which most of his teachings of this kind are laid down, without fear of angering the Graces, which floated around him, even in the breezes.

The creation of a *History of Ancient Art* — at which, before his time, not even the slightest attempt had ever been made — takes the second rank in the scale of his merit. From writings, and from fragments, he gathered together the scattered materials for the purpose, and, like Herodotus, first displayed



to view an image in which were incorporated the most beautiful essays of man's artistic capacity. No intelligent, impartial person would be willing to degrade the historian to the rank of a mere archaeologist or antiquarian, — for the latter assist the former only as subordinates, — unless the words antiquarian and archaeologist are employed with a signification which is foreign to our language. Winckelmann, moreover, is not merely an historian of ancient art, but his work is composed in a philosophic and dogmatic sense, since it not only investigates the grounds and causes, the influences and circumstances, bearing upon the origin, cultivation, and perfection, the deterioration and downfall, the difference and resemblance, of the formative arts among nations, but it also draws therefrom precepts for practical use; so that what was, at first, a pleasing narrative, is made instructive.

I know that he was frequently wrong in his statement of reasons; that he has confounded or distorted facts; that, instead of substantial vouchers, he has offered authorities in part defective, and in part suspicious, and has made very hazardous conjectures. How was it possible for him to complete his journey without misstep in a province in which he saw no one before him to point out the way? Notwithstanding this need, the work is as perfect as could be expected from erring man. He showed the probable origin of sculpture, its descent and similarity in different places; he pointed out the marks which, in the works of art now remaining, denote a higher or lower antiquity, a better or a worse style, this or that country; he distinguished certain schools, or defined them more exactly; he established epochs in art, which

have, as yet, undergone only slight modification; he communicated a knowledge of the materials, and mode of working, of the ancient masters; corrected numerous errors; and, finally, unsealed the eyes of the world to the immortal wonders of art, both of the grand and of the beautiful styles. All this he drew directly from the purest sources, namely, notices by Greek and Roman authors, and his own oft-renewed observation, examination, and comparison of the remains of ancient art in places where they were collected together in greater numbers than anywhere else. An inborn lofty sense of the beautiful, an eye trained by practice, a clear judgment, acuteness of intellect, a happy memory, and a love for his subject which mounted quickly to rapture, faithfully accompanied him in all his investigations, and in the record of them.

That the defects and mistakes, — some of which have been indicated above, — pointed out by subsequent writers, lacking the talent of the father of art-history, might easily have been rectified by diligence and accuracy, and now are, in fact, rectified, scarcely needs to be mentioned to those who know that, after the period when Winckelmann ceased to be an oracle, scarcely any one wrote upon art or antiquity who did not have recourse, more or less, to the sleeping lion. Lessing, Visconti, and Quatremère de Quincy praised and censured in a dignified manner; Fea and Meyer subjected the whole to examination, and to them in particular are we indebted for the emendations of the *History of Art*.

Another of Winckelmann's merits is, unquestionably, his excellence as a writer, in the more limited

sense of the term. Merely to write about art, and to impart thorough instruction from personal observation as well as profound investigation, was far from being sufficient in this case, because the subject demanded, more perhaps than any other, a beautiful, and occasionally an elevated presentation, — if the form was meant to correspond to the material.

Winckelmann created for himself an original style. Equally removed from hardness and stiffness as from ornament and diffuseness, it manifests its beauty by repose and quiet grandeur, like Xenophon's writings, and the sculptures of high art, which seem to have served him as a model. With simple means and gentle movement, he produces wonderful representations, all of which may be called beautiful in their kind, so different are they in their peculiar character, like the youthful and adult, the terrestrial and celestial, divinities of the Greeks. In narrating, brief without scantiness; in criticizing, accurate and acute; in teaching, circumstantial and clear; cautious in refuting; artless in comparing; — he becomes grand when treating of beauty, and the essential of art; and in his reflections on the Apollo, Hercules, Laocoön, and Niobe, he soars until his enthusiasm equals that which first created them.

His language is throughout pure, calm, arranged without breaks in soft waves, and lucid even to the bottom, when the bed is the clearest. Allusions and illustrations he draws in abundance from his treasury of ancient reading; but he generally selects images from familiar objects, and oftentimes from objects apparently inferior, to which he imparts dignity by his use of them. This sometimes gives offence to those

— and they are many — who have no taste for modest and unostentatious beauties. To such he says: *Vide quam sim antiquorum hominum!* — “Behold how much of an ancient I am!”

“Winckelmann’s style resembles an ancient work of art. Each thought steps forth, fashioned in all its parts, and stands there, noble, simple, lofty, complete: *it is*. Let it have existed no matter where or how, whether in a Greek or in Winckelmann; enough, that, through the latter, it stands there and lives at once, like Minerva from the head of Jupiter. As one on the shore of a thought-sea, who beholds the water and the clouds commingling in the distance, so stand I by his writings, and survey them. A field full of soldiers, who have been recruited from far and wide, at first view gives the idea of vastness; but when, at last, the eye returns from its extended survey, loftier in its reach, it will fix itself on each single soldier; and we ask, ‘Whence came he?’ and we speculate who he may be; and then we may, from many individuals, learn to know the career of a hero.”\*

Heyne, in his *Eulogy on Winckelmann*, has estimated him, as an archæologist, in so masterly a manner, that it is unnecessary for me to say anything on the point.

As I am the first to venture to present a biography of this classic author of Germany, drawn from the purest sources, I throw myself on the fairness of my critics; but I should not be sorry if I were soon to see it surpassed by a better attempt.

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\* Herder.

THE

HISTORY OF ANCIENT ART.





## P R E F A C E .

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1. THE History of Ancient Art which I have undertaken to write is not a mere chronicle of epochs, and of the changes which occurred within them. I use the term History in the more extended signification which it has in the Greek language; and it is my intention to attempt to present a system. In the first part, — the treatise on the Art of Ancient Nations, — I have sought to execute this design in regard to the art of each nation individually, but specially in reference to that of the Greek. The second part contains the History of Art in a more limited sense, that is to say, as far as external circumstances were concerned, but only in reference to the Greeks and Romans. In both parts, however, the principal object is the essential of art, on which the history of the individual artists has little bearing; the reader, therefore, need not expect to find here those details which have been gathered together on this point by others. On the other hand, those monuments of art which can in any way elucidate the subject are carefully noticed even in the second part.

2. *The History of Art* is intended to show the

origin, progress, change, and downfall of art, together with the different styles of nations, periods, and artists, and to prove the whole, as far as it is possible, from the ancient monuments now in existence.

3. A few works have been published under the title of a *History of Art*. Art, however, had but a small share in them, for their authors were not sufficiently familiar with it, and therefore could communicate nothing more than what they had learned from books or hearsay. There is scarcely one who guides us to the essential of art, and into its interior; and those who treat of antiquities either touch only on those points in which they can exhibit their learning, or, if they speak of art, they do so either in general terms of commendation, or their opinion is based on strange and false grounds. Of this kind is Monier's *History of Art*, and Durand's translation and explanation of the last Books of Pliny, under the title of *History of Ancient Painting*. Turnbull's *Treatise on Ancient Painting* also belongs to this class. Aratus, who, as Cicero says, did not understand astronomy, was able to write a celebrated poem on it; but I doubt whether even a Greek with no knowledge of art would have been able to say anything worthy of it.

4. In the large and valuable works descriptive of ancient statues which have hitherto been published, we seek in vain for research and knowledge in regard to art. The description of a statue ought to show the cause of its beauty, and the peculiarity in its style. It is necessary, therefore, to touch upon particulars in art before it is possible to arrive at a judgment on works of art. But where are we

taught the points in which the beauty of a statue consists? What writer has looked at beauty with an artist's eyes? What has been written of this kind in modern days is not better than the *Statues of Callistratus*. This meagre sophist might have described even ten times as many as he did, without ever having seen a single one. Our ideas contract over most descriptions of this sort, and what was great shrinks to the compass of an inch.

5. A figure is usually determined to be of Greek or Roman origin by its dress or its excellence. A mantle, clasped on the left shoulder, will show that the work was executed by Greeks, — in Greece, in fact. It has even been suggested to seek the native land of the artist who made the statue of Marcus Aurelius in the beautiful hair on the head of the horse. Some resemblance to an owl has been found in it; and by this resemblance the artist intended to signify Athens.

A good figure, merely because not dressed as a senator, is immediately pronounced to be Greek; yet, notwithstanding, there are senatorial statues by Greek artists whose names are known. A group in the Borghese villa is presumed to be Marcius Coriolanus with his mother; and it is so called. From this presumption the inference is drawn that the work was executed at the time of the republic; and, on this account, it is considered worse than it actually is. The name of Egizzia, the Gypsy, has been bestowed upon a marble statue in the same villa; hence, the real Egyptian style has been discovered in the head, which shows anything else, and which, together with the hands and feet, likewise of bronze, was the

work of Bernini. This, in architecture, is accommodating the style to the edifice. Not less unfounded is the appellation — universally adopted without attentive observation — which has been given to the presumed group of Papius with his mother, in the Ludovisi villa; and Du Bos finds in the countenance of the young man a crafty smile, though there is, in reality, not the slightest indication of such an expression (1). It rather represents Phædra and Hippolytus, for his face shows consternation at a declaration of love from a mother. The incidents represented by Greek artists — and Menclaus, the artist of this work, was a Greek — were drawn from their own mythological and heroic history.

6. In regard to the superiority of a statue, it is not enough to consider the statue of Pasquin the most beautiful of all the ancient statues, — as Bernini did (2), probably from thoughtless boldness; but a writer must also assign his reasons for claiming such superiority. In precisely the same manner he might have adduced the Meta Sudans, in front of the Coliseum, as an example of ancient architecture.

7. A few writers have, from a single letter, boldly designated the artist; and the author who omits to mention the names of a few artists found on statues, — as, for example, of Papius, or rather Hippolytus, to which I have just referred, and Germanicus, — pronounces the Mars of John of Bologna, in the Medici villa, to be an antique statue: others have been misled by the assertion. Another, in order to describe a bad antique statue, — the supposed Narcissus (3) in the Barberini palace, — instead of a good figure, relates the fable concerning him; and the au-

thor of a treatise on three statues in the Campidoglio — Roma, and the two Barberini captive kings — gives the reader, quite unexpectedly, a history of Numidia; in other words, as the Greeks say, “Leucon bears one thing, and his ass another.”

8. Descriptions of extant antiquities, of the galleries and villas at Rome, afford quite as little instruction: they rather mislead than instruct. In the catalogues of the statues of the Earl of Pembroke, and of the Cardinal Polignac, two statues of Hersilia, the wife of Romulus, and a Venus by Phidias in Pinaroli, have the heads of Lucretia and Cæsar, copied from life. Among the statues at Wilton, the seat of the Earl of Pembroke, in England, which have been etched badly enough by Cary Creed on forty plates, large quarto, there are said to be four by a Greek artist, named Cleomenes. It is impossible not to feel astonishment at the confidence in the credulity of mankind, when it is asserted in the same work that an equestrian statue of Marcus Curtius was executed by a sculptor whom Polybius — the general, I presume, of the Achæan league, and the historian — brought with him from Corinth to Rome. It would not have been more impudent to have pretended that he sent the artist to Wilton.

9. Richardson has described the palaces and villas in Rome, and the statues in them, like one who had seen them only in a dream. Many palaces he did not see at all, on account of his brief stay in the city, and some, according to his own statement, he visited but once; and yet his work, in despite of its many deficiencies and errors, is the best we have. We must not be too severe if he has regarded a modern paint-



ing, in fresco, from the hand of Guido, as an antique. Keissler's *Travels* are not even to be taken into account in regard to what he alleges of works of art in Rome and other places; for he has copied, for this purpose, the most trashy books. Manilli, with great industry, has made a book especially about the Borghese villa, and yet he has not noticed three very remarkable pieces in it. One of them is the arrival of Penthesilea, Queen of the Amazons, near Priam, in Troy, to whom she offers her assistance; the second is Hebe, who, having been deprived of her office of serving the deities with ambrosia, is on her knees, entreating the forgiveness of the goddesses, as Jupiter had already installed Ganymedes in her place; the third is a beautiful altar, on which Jupiter is represented as riding a Centaur, — which has not been noticed either by him or any other person, because it stands in the cellar of the palace.

10. Montfaucon, having compiled his work at a distance from the treasures of ancient art, saw with the eyes of others, and formed his opinions from engravings and drawings, by which he has been led into great errors. Hercules with Antæus, in the Pitti palace, at Florence, — a statue of inferior rank, and of which more than one half is a modern restoration, — is, according to him and Maffei, nothing less than a work of Polycleetus. The statue of Sleep, of black marble, by Algardi, in the Borghese villa, he pronounces an antique; and one of the large modern vases, of the same sort of marble, executed by Silvio of Veletri, which are ranged near the statue, and which he found, in an engraving, placed near it, is intended to denote a vase containing a soporific juice.



How many remarkable things he has neglected! He acknowledges that he never saw a marble Hercules with a horn of plenty; yet in the Ludovisi villa the hero is so represented, of life-size, in the shape of a Hermes; and the horn is really antique. On a broken burial-urn among the fragments of antiquities belonging to the Barberini family, which were sold a short time since, is a Hercules with the same symbol. It occurs to me that another Frenchman, Martin by name, — who presumes so far as to declare that Grotius did not understand the Septuagint, — decisively and boldly declares that the two Genii on ancient urns cannot denote Sleep and Death; and yet the altar on which they are seen in this significance, with the ancient superscription of Sleep and Death, is publicly exposed in the court of the Albani palace. Another of his countrymen charges the younger Pliny with falsehood in his description of his villa; but the ruins convince us of its truth.

11. The approval of certain mistakes, committed by writers on antiquities, and the lapse of time, have, as it were, secured them against refutation. An engraving of a round marble work, in the Giustiniani villa, to which certain additions have given the form of a vase, with a Bacchanal scene in relief, has, since it was first made known by Spon, been introduced into many books, and has served the purpose of illustration. Indeed, a lizard creeping up a tree has led to a conjecture that the work on which it is found may be from the hand of Sauros, who, in connection with Batrachus, built the portico of Marcellus; nevertheless, it is of modern workmanship. The reader may find in the *Notes*

*upon Architecture* my remarks in reference to these two architects. So too the vase on which Spon has written a special treatise must be modern, as its appearance denotes to the eyes of connoisseurs of antiquity and of good taste.

12. The mistakes of learned men in regard to things of antiquity proceed mostly from inattention to restoration, as many of them have been unable to distinguish the repairs by which mutilated and lost portions have been replaced from those really antique. A large volume might be written about mistakes of this kind, for the most learned antiquarians have failed in this particular. From a relievo in the Mattei palace, which represents a hunt by the Emperor Gallienus, Fabretti wished to prove that horseshoes, nailed upon the foot in the mode of the present day, had already come into use at that time: he did not know that the leg of the horse had been repaired by a sculptor not versed in such matters. Restorations have given occasion to laughable explanations. For example, Montfaucon sees in the roll or baton in the hand of Castor or Pollux, in the Borghese villa, which is modern, an emblem of the laws of horse-racing at the games; and in a similar roll of modern addition, which is held by a Mercury in the Ludovisi villa, he finds an allegory of difficult elucidation; just as Tristan, in respect to a strap on a shield, held by a figure presumed to be Germanicus, on the celebrated agate at St. Denis, has regarded it as a peaceful appendage. In other words, St. Michael baptized a Ceres. Wright looks upon a modern violin, which has been placed in the hand of an Apollo, in the Negroni villa, as a genuine

antique; and refers to another modern violin, belonging to a small bronze figure, at Florence, which Addison also mentions. The former believes himself to be vindicating the honor of Raphael, since there is a probability, as he thinks, that this great artist borrowed the shape of the violin which he placed in the hand of Apollo on Parnassus, in the Vatican, from the statue mentioned above, which was repaired for the first time by Bernini more than one hundred and fifty years after the painter's time. An Orpheus with a violin, on an engraved gem, might be cited with just as much propriety. In the same way persons imagined that they saw among the paintings that formerly covered the ceiling of the ancient temple of Bacchus, outside of Rome, a small figure with a modern violin; but Santes Bartoli, who made a drawing of the figure, allowed himself to be better informed, and erased the instrument from his copperplate, — as I see by the impression which he has added to his colored drawings of ancient paintings in the museum of the Cardinal Alexander Albani. The ball in the hand of the statue of Cæsar in the Campidoglio was intended by the ancient artist — according to the commentary of a later Roman poet — to signify his desire for absolute sovereignty: he did not see that the hands and arms are modern. Mr. Spence would not have found fault with the sceptre of a Jupiter, if he had noticed that the arm is modern, and consequently the staff also.

13. Restorations ought to be pointed out, either in the engravings, or in the explanations of them; for the head of the Ganymedes in the gallery at Florence, as seen in the engraving, must produce an

unfavorable impression; and it is still worse in the original. How many other heads of ancient statues in that place are modern, which have never been considered as such! as, for example, the head of an Apollo, whose laurel crown is cited by Gori as something singular. The statues of Narcissus, of the so-called Phrygian priest, of a seated Matron, of the Venus Genetrix, have modern heads; the heads of a Diana, of a Bacchus with a Satyr at his feet, and of another Bacchus holding a bunch of grapes on high, are frightfully ugly. Most of the statues that belonged to Christina, queen of Sweden, and which now stand at St. Ildefonso, in Spain, likewise have modern heads; and of the eight Muses there, the arms also are modern.

14. Many mistakes of authors originate from incorrect drawings; as, for example, in Cuper's explanation of the *Apotheosis of Homer*. The draughtsman considered Tragedy to be a male figure, and the buskin, which is very visible in the marble, was not observed. Moreover, a scroll, instead of a plectrum, is placed in the hand of the Muse which stands on high. The commentator wishes to make an Egyptian Tau out of a sacred tripod, and he asserts that he sees three lappets on the mantle of the figure in front of the tripod: they are, however, not to be found.

15. Hence it is difficult, indeed almost impossible, to write in a thorough manner of ancient art, and of unknown antiquities, anywhere but in Rome. Even a residence there of two years is insufficient for the purpose, as I learn by the laborious preparation required in my own case. We must not,

therefore, be astonished, if some one says that he has been unable to discover in Italy any unknown inscriptions. This is true; and none of those which are above ground, especially in public places, have escaped the attention of the learned. Yet he who has time and opportunity is still always finding obscure inscriptions, which were discovered a long time ago; and those which I have cited in this work, as well as in the *Description of the Engraved Gems of the Stosch Cabinet*, are of this kind. But we must strive to understand them; and a traveller will not be likely to find them.

16. Much more difficult, however, is the knowledge of art in the works of the ancients, in which we are continually making discoveries, even after looking at them a hundred times. Most persons, nevertheless, think that this knowledge is to be obtained in the same way as they get theirs who gather their erudition from monthly periodicals; and they venture to pass judgment on Laocoön, as the latter do on Homer, even in the presence of one to whom both have been a study for many years. Whereas, in reality, they speak, like Lamothe, of the greatest of poets, and, like Arcino, of the most perfect of statues. In general, the greater number of writers on these subjects resemble rivers which rise when their water is not needed, and remain dry in a period of drought.

17. In this *History of Art* I have exerted myself to discover the truth, and, as I have had every desirable opportunity of leisurely investigating the works of the ancients, and have spared no pains to obtain the requisite kinds of knowledge, I believed myself

competent to undertake it. From youth upward, a love for art has been my strongest passion; and though education and circumstances led me in quite another direction, still my natural inclination was constantly manifesting itself. All the pictures and statues, as well as engraved gems and coins, which I have adduced as proofs, I have myself seen, and seen frequently, and been able to study; but for the purpose of aiding the reader's conception, I have cited, besides these, both gems and coins from books, whenever the engravings of them were tolerably good.

18. It must not occasion surprise that I have omitted to notice some few works of ancient art bearing the name of the artist, and some which have become remarkable from other circumstances. Those which I have silently passed by are objects which either afford no help in determining a style or a period in art, or else they are no longer in Rome, or are entirely destroyed; for, in modern times, this misfortune has befallen very many glorious pieces,—as I have remarked in several places. I would have described the torso of a statue with the name Apollonius of Athens, son of Nestor, upon it, which was formerly in the Massimi palace; but it is lost. A painting of the goddess Roma,—not the known one in the Barberini palace,—which is adduced by Spon, is also no longer in Rome. The Nymphæum described by Holstein has gone to decay, through negligence, it is asserted, and is no longer shown. The relievo on which Painting was making a portrait of Varro, which belonged to the celebrated Ciampini, is likewise no longer in Rome, lost without the slightest further information in regard to it.



The *Hermæ* of the head of *Speusippus*, the head of *Xenocrates*, and several others, bearing either the name of the person or of the artist, have had a similar fate. It is impossible to read, without sorrow, notices of so many antique monuments of art, which were destroyed, both in Rome and elsewhere, in the days of our forefathers; and of many no information even has been preserved. In an unpublished letter of the celebrated *Peirese* to the commendator *Del Pozzo*, I recollect an account of many rilievi in the baths at *Pozzuolo*, near *Naples*, which still existed there in the popedom of *Julius III.*, on which were represented persons afflicted with all sorts of diseases, whose health had been restored by these baths. This is the sole notice of them that is to be found. Who could believe that in our day, from the torso of a statue of which the head is in existence, two other statues were made? Yet this has been the case at *Parma*, in the very year in which I write, with the colossal trunk of a *Jupiter*, the beautiful head of which is in the *Academy of Painting* in that city. The two new figures cut out of the antique one, of a sort that can easily be imagined, stand in the ducal garden. A nose has been affixed to the head in the most bungling manner; and the modern sculptor, intending to improve the forms which the ancient master gave to the forehead, cheeks, and beard, has removed what seemed to him superfluous. I forgot to state that this *Jupiter* was found in the buried city of *Velleia*, in the *Parmesan* territory, of which the discovery has recently been made. Moreover, within the memory of man, indeed since my residence in *Rome*, many celebrated pieces

have been carried to England, where, as Pliny expresses it, they are exiled to remote country-seats.

19. As Greek art is the principal point which this *History* has in view, I have, consequently, been obliged in the chapter upon it to enter more into detail; yet I should have been able to say more if I had written for the Greeks, and not in a modern tongue, which imposes on me certain restrictions. For this reason, I have, although reluctantly, left out a *Dialogue upon Beauty*, after the manner of the *Phædrus* of Plato, which would have served to elucidate my remarks when speaking of it theoretically.

20. All the monuments of art, whether antique paintings, figures in stone, engraved gems, or coins and vases, which I have introduced at the beginning and end of chapters or their divisions, both for embellishment and demonstration, have never before been published; and I have, for the first time, had drawings and engravings executed from them.

21. I have ventured to present a few speculations of which the proofs may not appear sufficiently strong; but they may, perhaps, help others onward who wish to penetrate into the art of the ancients; and how often it happens that a conjecture is, by a later discovery, converted into a truth! Conjectures — those, I mean, which are attached, at least by a thread, to something firm — are no more to be banished from a treatise of this kind, than hypotheses from natural philosophy. They resemble the frame of a building; they are indispensable indeed, if, in the want of different kinds of knowledge relative to ancient art, we do not wish to make great

leaps across many vacant spots. Several of the reasons which I offered in regard to things not so clear as the sun give, when taken separately, only a probability, but collectively and connectedly amount to proof.

22. The list of works which I have prefixed\* does not include all that I have cited; as, for instance, Nonnus is the sole one among them of the ancient poets, because, in the rare first edition of which I made use, only the verses on each page, and not the books in the poem, are numbered, as is the case with the other poets. Of the ancient Greek historians, the editions from which I have quoted are for the most part those of Robert and Henry Stephens, which are not divided into chapters; on this account I have indicated the lines on each page.

23. My worthy and learned friend, Herr Franke, the very deserving director of the celebrated and superb Bünau library, having taken great interest in the completion of this work, I am bound to express to him publicly the thanks which he deserves; for his kind heart could not have given me any more valuable proof of the friendship existing between us, which has been fostered by our long-continued and mutual retired habits of life.

24. I cannot omit also — since the expression of gratitude on every occasion is commendable, and cannot be reiterated sufficiently often — to testify anew, in this place, my obligations to my valued friends, Herr Füessly of Zürich, and Herr Wille of Paris.

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\* The catalogue of books quoted is given in the last volume.

The remarks published by me relative to the discoveries at Herculaneum ought more properly to be attributed to them; for without solicitation, from a voluntary mutual impulse, and a pure love of art and the extension of knowledge, they supported me, — a stranger to them, moreover, — on my first journey to that place, by a generous contribution. Men of this stamp are, for one such act alone, deserving of eternal remembrance, won by their own merit.

25. I, likewise, announce to the public a work, written in the Italian language, which will be published at Rome during the ensuing spring, at my own expense, in royal folio. It is an explanation of antique monuments of all kinds, never before published, especially rilievi in marble. Among them are very many which it was difficult to explain; of the others, some have been pronounced by skilful antiquarians to be riddles, incapable of solution, and some have been explained altogether erroneously. By these monuments the domain of art has been more enlarged than ever before. In them are seen conceptions and images wholly new, of which, in a measure, also, no traces are to be found in the accounts of the ancients; and many passages in their writings, which hitherto have not been understood, and even could not be understood without the help of these works, are explained, and set in a proper light. The volume is composed of more than two hundred engravings on copper, executed by the greatest draughtsman in Rome, John Casanova, a pensioned painter of the king of Poland; so that no work of antiquities can exhibit drawings which have so much correctness, taste, and knowledge of

antiquity to recommend them. In regard to the other embellishments of the volume, nothing has been omitted on my part; and all the initial letters are engraved on copper.

The *History of Art* I dedicate to Art and the Age, and especially to my friend, Antonio Raphael Mengs.

ROME, July, 1763.

## PREFACE

### TO THE NOTES.

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1. It was not my intention to present these *Notes* in a separate form; but by means of them I expected to be enabled to produce an enlarged and improved edition of the *History of Art*. The large impression of this work, however, and the French translation of it, have induced me to collect the observations which I have from time to time noted down. For, on the one hand, to say what I deemed essential would have necessitated still a long delay; but, on the other hand, as the *History of Art* was becoming more generally known in a strange garb, although awkwardly and ignorantly donned, I esteemed it my duty to make it more complete through the present additions.

2. I do not shrink from acknowledging the deficiencies of the *History of Art*; but as it is no disgrace, when hunting in a wood, not to capture every wild beast, or to make bad shots, I hope to be excused wherever I have failed to mention or observe anything, or whenever I have not hit the mark. On the other hand, I can also assert that much, both here and there, has been intentionally omitted, partly



because a notice without engravings would have been either unintelligible or imperfect, and partly because I should have been obliged to enter into learned investigations, which would have led too far from my object. In treatises upon art, learning should constitute the least part; for where it teaches nothing essential, it should be valued at nothing, and regarded — as the cough of shallow speakers or bad lute-players usually is (to make use of an expression of the ancients) — as an indication of poverty. I am also willing to acknowledge that I have occasionally failed to state a few trifles quite correctly, because one often trusts too much to memory, or wishes to avoid journeys to distant places. This charge, however, would be less serious than that justly brought against Prideaux, that, when he was at Oxford, where the Arundelian marbles stand together in one place, he did not himself examine them for the elucidation of obscure passages.

3. The reader will not, I hope, be displeased, if, in this preamble, — for no future opportunity may perhaps occur, — I point out, for his instruction, the course which I pursued in the investigation of antiquities and works of art.

4. I did not come to Rome at the expense of a court, as persons imagine, and still less under the patronage of the nobleman whom I served in Saxony, — as an ill-informed scribbler asserts, — but supported by a worthy friend, to whom I have publicly expressed my gratitude. I came hither for the purpose of learning, with a view, at the same time, to becoming a teacher; and as I believed that, of the works of ancient art which had been made known,

there were few which had been discussed in books in a philosophic spirit and with a well-grounded exposition of the truly beautiful in them, I hoped that my journey would not be entirely fruitless. For this purpose I had made previous preparation, so far as the scanty portion of time of which I was master permitted, and from my meditations at that time proceeded the essay on the *Imitation of the Ancients in Painting and Sculpture*. In pursuit of the objects which I had in view, I rejected every proposal made to me by two well-known cardinals, both before my departure for Rome, and also after my arrival there; for unless I had been my own master, I should have failed in my purpose.

5. During the whole of the first year I looked and contemplated, without forming any definite plan; for although I kept the essential always in view, still it was difficult for me to proceed with the success that I desired, along the untrodden path on which I travelled; many times, indeed, I was led astray by artists, whose judgments contradicted my feelings and my knowledge. But being invincibly firm in the belief that the Good and the Beautiful are the same, and that only one path leads to them, whilst many go to the Evil and the Ugly, I sought to test and establish my observations by a systematic application of knowledge.

6. In the first place, I determined to pay less attention, at the outset, to the antiquities of places, sites, and regions, and the ancient ruins of buildings, because much is uncertain, and because that which can be known, and that which cannot be known, has been discussed with sufficient fulness by more than

one writer. Besides, I could not undertake to seek out everything, for I had not the means wherewith to pay those who were able to serve me as guides. Now as this kind of knowledge can be acquired without any talent whatever, I took with me on my expedition no more of it than I could discover and investigate for myself. I compared it to bibliography, which has, not unfrequently, hindered those who have had an opportunity of acquiring it from knowing the contents of books. He who seeks to penetrate into the reality of knowledge has to guard not less against the danger of becoming a man of letters, than against what is commonly understood by the term antiquarian. For of these occupations one is as fascinating as the other, because they flatter our indolence and a sluggish indisposition to think for ourselves. It is, for instance, a pleasing thing to know in what part of Rome the ancient Carinæ were, and to be able to point out almost the exact spot where Pompey dwelt; and the guide who can show to the traveller these localities does so with a certain self-satisfaction. But when we have seen the latter place, on which there does not remain the slightest trace of an ancient edifice, what more do we know?

7. For the same reason, I did not trouble myself much about Roman coins, partly because it is difficult at the present day to discover any novelties in them, and partly, also, because I perceived that persons without any learning had acquired great skill in this department. The rarest Roman coins — the medallions excepted, on account of the beauty of their impression — are to be compared to rare

books, which have become so because a bookseller would gain nothing by a reprint of them, and a rare *Pertinax* or *Pescennius* of silver or gold should not be valued more than one of *Giordano Bruno's* books. On the other hand, I endeavored to see the coins of Greek lands and cities, for which no particular search is made by the purchasers of coins, because it is not easy to form a series of them, as it is of the Roman. Moreover, in the study of these antiquities, the learner will not waste his thoughts on trifles, if he considers them as the productions of men whose thoughts were of a loftier and more manly strain than ours; and thus viewed, the investigation of them is able to elevate us above ourselves and above our age. A thinking person, on the shore of the wide sea, cannot occupy himself with low ideas; the illimitable view expands also the bounds of the soul, which, though at first seeming to be lost, returns again enlarged.

8. As I soon made the further discovery that very many works of ancient art were either not known, or had not been understood or explained, I endeavored to unite erudition with art. But the greatest difficulty in things dependent on learning usually is, to know what others have produced, in order not to labor in vain, or say what has been already many times repeated. When, however, I re-examined the works on ancient monuments of art, this apprehension was removed; and I satisfied myself that it was hardly possible to explain correctly, at a distance from Rome, that which has not been interpreted in Rome itself. The free use of the great library of the Cardinal *Passionei* gave me facilities for this

study until I took charge of the library and museum of the Cardinal Alexander Albani; and afterwards, as Greek professor in the Vatican library, I had the privilege of exploring the treasures which it contained subservient to my design.

9. But a critical examination of art continued to be my principal occupation. In such a study, the first step must be skill to distinguish the modern from the ancient, and the genuine from the additions. I soon discovered the general rule, that the detached parts of statues, especially the hands and arms, are for the most part to be looked upon as new, and consequently the emblems also assigned to them. At first, however, it was extremely difficult for me to decide of myself in regard to a few heads. Once, when preparing, with this view, to examine the head of a female statue more nearly, it fell over, and I came nigh being crushed and buried beneath it. Here I must acknowledge, that it is only within a few years that I have discovered an Apollo, wrought in relief, in the Giustiniani palace, to be a modern work, though it is universally regarded as an antique, and has been pronounced by a travelled writer to be the most beautiful piece in the collection.

10. But as it is more easy to find the bad — which is usually the modern addition — than the good, so it was more difficult, far more difficult, for me to discover the beautiful, when it exceeded my knowledge. I did not look upon the works of art as he did, who, when he saw the ocean for the first time, said, “It is a pretty sight.” *Ἀθαυμάσια*, or non-wonderment, which Strabo extols, because it begets composure of mind, I prize highly in ethics,



but not in art: here indifference is prejudicial. The general celebrity enjoyed by a few works has been occasionally useful to me, during this investigation, by preoccupying my judgment: it compelled me to acknowledge something beautiful, at least, in them, and to convince myself of its existence. The torso of a Hercules, from the hand of Apollonius of Athens, of which I have given a description, may serve as an instance to the point. I obtained no light upon this work at my first view of it; I could not reconcile the moderate rendering of the parts in this statue with the strong prominence in other statues of Hercules, especially the Farnese. On the other hand, I set before myself the high regard of Michael Angelo, and of all subsequent artists, for this piece. Their opinion was, necessarily, almost an article of faith with me, yet so qualified that I could not without reasons yield my approbation. My doubts were perplexed by the attitude which Bernini and the whole host of artists have given to this mutilated image, for they imagine it to be a Hercules spinning. At last, after repeated contemplation, and after convincing myself that the supposed attitude of the figure was an erroneous notion, and that in this case a Hercules reposing, with his right arm placed on his head, as if occupied in musing on his achievements, has, with more likelihood, been represented, I believed that I had discovered the ground of the difference between it and other statues of Hercules. For both attitude and conformation showed it to be a Hercules who had been received among the gods, and there had rested from his labors, precisely as a rilievo in the



villa of the Cardinal Alexander Albani represents him reposing on Olympus, with the epithet of *ANAIATO-MENOS*, *The Reposing*; consequently, in the celebrated torso we see an image of Hercules as a deity, not as a mortal. Having now succeeded in finding in statues representing him under each form the presumed grounds of the esteem in which they were held, and of their beauty, I steadily continued so to study the remainder, that I put myself in the position of one who was going to give an account of them before an assemblage of connoisseurs; and I imposed upon myself the rule of not turning back until I had discovered some beauty, and the grounds of it.

11. In accordance with some light which I had obtained, I attempted to define the styles of the Egyptian and Etruscan artists, and also to determine the difference between the art of the Etruscans and that of the Greeks. The characteristic marks of Egyptian works seemed to present themselves at once, but I was not equally successful with the style of the Etruscans; and I do not undertake, even now, to assert, as a matter beyond dispute, that some rilievi which are seemingly Etruscan may not be works of the earliest style of the Greeks. With greater apparent certainty I discovered several periods in Greek works, but some years elapsed before I obtained any proofs of the lofty antiquity of a Muse in the Barberini palace.

12. The study of art had so entirely occupied the first two years of my residence in this city, that I was able to give only a passing thought, as it were, to the knowledge of antiquity derived from books alone. I was, however, put in this direction by the

task of preparing a description of the intaglio gems of the Baron von Stosch, — who had died prior to that time, — which I sketched out in the rudest manner during the nine months of my stay at Florence, and afterwards finished at Rome. Here I learnt in regard to engraved gems, that, in every instance, the more beautiful the workmanship, so much the more natural is the representation; and consequently the explanation is so easy, that those gems upon which are the names of the artists are understood by every one. Further experience satisfied me, that on Greek works of this kind there are fewer obscure images than on the Etruscan, and that the most ancient are usually the most abstruse; just as the mythology of the earliest Greek poets, of Pamphos and Orpheus, for example, is more obscure than that taught by their successors. Here I came, for the first time, upon the trace of a truth which was afterwards of the greatest use to me in the explanation of the most difficult monuments. This truth consists of the principle, that the images on engraved gems, as well as on rilievi, are very seldom drawn from events occurring posterior to the Trojan war, or later than the return of Ulysses to Ithaca, unless, perhaps, we except those connected with the Heraclidæ, or the descendants of Hercules; for their history still lies on the borders of fable, and fable was the especial subject of artists. Nevertheless, I know only a single picture taken from the history of the Heraclidæ, — repeated with slight modifications on several antique gems; namely, the lot cast by Cresphontes and Temenus, — illegitimate grandsons of Hercules, — and the two sons of their brother Aristomachus, about the

partition of the Peloponnesus, after they had taken possession of it with the armed hand. This gem is wrongly explained by Beger and Gori. I was especially confirmed as to the truth of the principle mentioned above, by a more frequent examination of twenty-eight thousand impressions in sulphur, made, by direction of the Baron von Stosch, from every antique gem which he had ever seen, or of which he had ever heard. As a result of my experience, I came to a conclusion adverse to the antiquity of all gems on which Roman incidents are represented, — a conclusion which is obvious to connoisseurs from the very workmanship of such gems. It is shown beyond dispute by two cameos in the Strozzi museum, at Rome, on which Quintus Curtius is engraved in the act of throwing himself, on horseback, into the chasm. These beautifully executed modern gems have been published and described by Gori as antique. The remark which I now make in reference to Roman history must not be extended to works in marble which were executed in Rome, and were public monuments; for a figure of the same Curtius is found on a small rilievo in the Campidoglio, and another, of the size of life, in the Borghese villa (1).

13. When, after having finished the *Description* mentioned above, and completed the *History of Art*, I proceeded to elucidate those monuments of antiquity which had not yet been published, the principle just named was my guide. Although it explains nothing in itself, nor of itself, still it confines the attention to a more limited range of representation, and the imagination does not rove about among stories beyond the mythic circle.

14. In this work I established another test, no less useful; namely, that the ancient artists have not, especially on rilievi consisting of several figures, designed any merely ideal pictures, that is to say, pictures not representing any known history, but that all are referrible to the mythology either of the gods or of the heroes. Bacchanalia, dances, &c. are always to be excepted. If those who have occupied themselves in the explanation of ancient monuments had taken this principle as a basis, the knowledge of antiquities would have been far more thorough and learned. The following examples will illustrate my remark. Bellori designates a rilievo, engraved by Bartoli, by the title *Epithalamium*; but he should have investigated whether it might not rather be the marriage of Cadmus with Harmonia, or that of Peleus with Thetis, as the latter has been represented in the Aldobrandini Nuptials, so called. The scene termed by the same author a "Funeral Procession," *Pompa Funeralis*, which is wrought on the cover of a sepulchral urn in the Barberini palace, represents the burial of Meleager, and of his wife, Cleopatra, who dies by her own hand. So too the figures on another funeral urn in the same palace are not to be embraced under the general appellation of a *Passage across into the Elysian Fields, and a Mourning*, but we see therein, quite clearly, the whole history of Protesilaus, as it is told by Homer and other mythic writers. Another work, — of which there are many repetitions, — where Bellori dismisses the reader with the title *A Fearful Deed*, is the death of Agamemnon (2). I have also been convinced, that what has often seemed a riddle beyond solution is not an ob-

scure and far-fetched allegory, in Lycophron's style. Nevertheless, it is not without advantage, when other traces are wanting, to presuppose allegories of such a nature, and to pursue them as far as they go, because we often meet with unexpected things. Such conjectures I have, occasionally, not rejected, but presented them to the reader, when the information conveyed by them is of a rare kind.

15. In the first design of this work I had in view only those monuments which are the most difficult to be explained, and the new course of my reading of the ancient authors was directed entirely to them. But my plan gradually became enlarged by the addition of other remarkable and partly obscure pieces which I found afterwards, and of which I had not thought in my reading, so that my task became laborious, and was doubled. Hence, it happened that I was obliged to peruse anew and repeatedly most of those authors, especially those which promised me any information. How easy to overlook a single word upon which the entire meaning depends! Through the single word *ἀροτρεύων*, *ploughing*, in the scholiast of Pindar, I found the true signification of the statue of Quintus Cincinnatus, erroneously so called, but properly a Jason, — as I have pointed out in the second part of these *Notes*. If, hereafter, any one should make a gleaning of the ancient monuments which I have left behind, or which have since been discovered, let him endeavor to improve what I, for want of abilities and means, have neglected. Let him not do as I did, and as they do who erect a building piecemeal, and, as it were, without any previous plan; but if he has the



means of undertaking a great work at his own expense, let him beforehand determine precisely all the pieces which he intends to publish, and then, when he has them perfectly familiar to his memory, let him begin to read all the ancient authors, without a single exception. Of modern authors who might be of immediate assistance in the elucidation of ancient monuments, I cannot propose any other than the learned Buonarroti; but his writings are applicable merely to points of abstruse learning, and they explain only coins, — which is not difficult. In obscure mythology and heroic history, we must stick to the ancients, for Banier has not drawn from the original sources; the principal authority in his work, as the reader will perceive, is Huet, with his evangelical proof, and under his guidance he has endeavored to derive everything from the Bible and to trace everything back to it. But that I may not seem to throw aside all other modern writers, I recommend, in an undertaking of the kind of which I now speak, Henning's *Theatrum Genealogicum*. This rare work, little known and still less read, especially in Italy, imparts more information than all the works of all other nations united, — I mean those which treat of fable and of Greek heroic history. Neither do I wish to assert that no critical essays upon ancient authors, and no treatises upon antiquities, may throw any light on the subject; but they should, as far as it is possible, be looked over.

16. My greatest satisfaction in elucidating works of ancient art has been when they enabled me to explain or amend an ancient author. Such discoveries have, for the most part, presented themselves to me



unsought, — as the case usually is with all discoveries, — and may, therefore, be less far-fetched than many other attempts made by learned men of merit in this department. I cannot deny that I once felt the vanity of testing my powers in this way; but since, in my work now in press, explaining the unknown monuments of antiquity, I have succeeded in satisfying my desire, I am the more content at not having wasted the short period of my life on old, worn-out manuscripts, — for which I had every desirable opportunity. For the purpose of restraining this itching, I have always had before my eyes the example of the celebrated Orville, who, during a residence of two years at Rome, went every morning to the Vatican library, for the purpose, partly of collating the Heidelberg Codex of Greek Anthology with the printed copy, and partly of emending and restoring the latter by means of the former. For I hold the time thus passed so much the worse employed, because, at the outset, I undertook the very same task, but relinquished it in season, as I perceived that what is wanting in the printed edition is not worthy of being brought to light. For these epigrams, in every instance in which wit is still to be found, are full of nastiness; and it cannot redound to the honor of him who published, in Holland, a few of them from Orville's manuscripts, — inasmuch as they jest upon unnatural obscenities.

17. To this historical statement of the method which I adopted, I have a few remarks to add upon several points which occurred to me after the discussion in the *Notes*. In the second chapter of the first book of the *History of Art*, I might have

made mention of the skill of the ancients in executing mosaic-work in relief. But there is only a single, small piece of the kind known, — representing a young Hercules near the tree of the golden apples in the garden of the Hesperides, — which was taken from Rome to England, in the beginning of the present century, by the distinguished knight, Fountain. The same idea occurred as original to a skilful artist in Rome, a native of Urbino, who had no knowledge of this fact; and he made a happy, successful experiment, which induced the Cardinal Alexander Albani, the great patron and promoter of the arts, to take him into his service; and he has actually begun to execute the five goddesses of the Seasons, as they are called, in the Borghese villa, in this difficult kind of work, compared with which the usual flat mosaic-work may appear exceedingly easy. For, besides the labor of the workmanship, the artist must be skilful in modelling, — which is not necessary in the other case; but the most difficult part of this art consists in the polishing; in the folds of the drapery, indeed, it appears even inconceivable.

18. In the same place, also, I ought to have explained myself more clearly in regard to the forming of ivory figures on a lathe. This, in my opinion, is the art termed by the ancients *τορεύτικη*, in which Phidias was eminently distinguished. It is well known that, in modern days, rilievi of considerable size have been turned from ivory; but no figures hollowed underneath can be produced in this way, because the tool can act only on the surface. If any one, therefore, should be disposed to imagine

that the statues which Phidias composed of pieces of ivory, joined together, were turned upon a lathe, I must acknowledge that I do not well understand how it can be done,—for example, in regard to the head of a figure,—by any skill which the art has attained in modern days. For as the head, though previously composed of pieces, must be conceived of as a whole when in the act of being turned, it would be necessary to presume that it moved steadily under the instrument; hence, the oblique deep parts could not have been executed on the lathe; these must have been done with a chisel.

19. In the same book and chapter might, also, be introduced a remark relative to the mistake into which others besides Berkeley have probably fallen,—that the art of painting on walls was first introduced in the time of Augustus, and that Ludius was the inventor. The writer just named has drawn this inference from a misunderstood statement in Pliny; for Pliny does not say that Ludius was the first in Rome who painted on walls, but that he was the first to embellish with landscapes, and similar inanimate objects, the walls of rooms, on which, prior to his time, none but historical pieces were represented. Gronovius, in his notes to Berkeley, has overlooked this error; yet he ought to have observed it, because among the artists who painted on walls he also names Pausias, notwithstanding he lived two hundred years before Augustus; for he was a pupil of Pamphilus, and the teacher of Apelles.

20. An idea of Dion Chrysostomus, in the fourth chapter of *Art among the Greeks*, might, if true, give occasion to further reflection. This writer, speaking

of his own time, under Trajan, says: "Beauty of conformation is less common among men; of beautiful women there is no lack; but either the number of handsome men born is very limited, or, if they do exist, they remain concealed, either because we have ceased to pay regard to manly beauty, or because we do not know how to prize it,—as the ancient Greeks did." Notwithstanding, the same writer says of a young athlete of his time, of very beautiful conformation, that, "if he had not made himself celebrated in bodily exercises, he would have become so solely by the beauty of his shape."

21. The notes upon drapery, in the same chapter, may recall to the reader's remembrance an unfounded opinion in regard to a clasp, shaped like a cross, upon the straps of the sandals, which I noticed in the *Essay on Allegory*. When I wrote that remark, there was not to be found in Rome on any statue, nor on any of the feet in the notable collection formed by the sculptor Bartolommeo Cavacoppi, a cross of the kind, from which I might have obtained further refutation of that opinion. A short time since, however, the sculptor just named obtained a beautiful foot of a male statue, which must have been far larger than life, on which there is such a cross-clasp. On the same principle, a child's head between two wings,—as we are accustomed to represent angels,—which is the ornament of just such a clasp on the feet of a beautiful Bacchus in the Ludovisi villa, might, if the feet had been found separate from the trunk, have been supposed to indicate a Christian image.

22. In the second part of these *Notes*,—where it

has been shown that the period designated by Pliny as the flourishing age of great artists generally corresponds to the cessation of wars, — the reader may notice the Greek proverbial saying, *Φειδίας προσήκει εἰρήνην*, “Phidias belongs to peace.” It has been quoted by Suidas, but is not understood by him any better than by others. He explains it in an unintelligible and ridiculous manner, by saying that peace belongs to Phidias, because he is an artist; for Peace is represented as beautifully shaped. It will easily be perceived from the proofs which I have presented in their proper place, that, if this were actually a proverb, — of which Küster doubts, — it must be understood of a state of peace, in which alone the arts flourish.

23. I have been still more confirmed in my opinion, that the Niobe is to be attributed to Scopas rather than to Praxiteles, by a cast in gypsum of the head of Niobe herself; and this cast is the only one extant in Rome; but the head from which it was taken is no longer to be found here. On comparison of the head of Niobe with that single cast, more roundness is observable in the latter, and the mouth also is found to be of a better shape; hence some persons have inferred a greater probability that the cast was taken from the true head of Niobe, and that the head now on the statue is an antique repetition of the same work, but from the hand of an inferior artist. But they had not reflected upon the nature of the grand style, — of which roundness had not, as yet, become wholly an attribute, — and that the round manner of forming the eyebrow-bones points to a later age. Furthermore, they had not observed that

the mouth of the statue had been much injured, and that the two lips have been badly repaired with gypsum. The head from which the cast was taken, which is truly beautiful, might therefore, on account of its greater softness and roundness, be looked upon as an antique repetition of this work in the beautiful style, and perchance as a copy from the hand of Praxiteles. A comparison of the two heads teaches the distinctive points of the latter as well as of the former style.

24. In those places where I have mentioned the sculptor Ctesias, Ctesilaus must be read. I have spoken of him fully at the beginning of the second part of these *Notes*. From the research made in that place, it appears that the Dying Gladiator, so called, in the Campidoglio, cannot be his work, especially as Pliny speaks of a dying hero, and not of a gladiator.

25. On reconsidering the Farnese Bull, in reference to the names of the two artists by whom the work was executed, which were formerly inscribed on it, but are now no longer to be seen, I find that the inscription may have been engraved upon the trunk of a tree which serves as a support to the figure of Zethus,—for this was the most conspicuous place for it,—and also that the actual trunk is mostly new.

26. In regard to the heroic manner of representing the statue of Pompey, I have expressed my belief that it is the sole statue of a Roman republican which is formed entirely nude. But the supposed statue of Agrippa,—which is likewise treated heroically,—in the Grimani mansion at Venice, might be adduced as proof to the contrary. I might ob-



viate this objection by the consideration, that republican modesty and moderation were no longer sought for, even in art, during the reign of Augustus. But it is not yet proved that this statue represents Marcus Agrippa; and if there be any resemblance in the head of it to the heads of images of him, then an investigation must be made at the place where the statue stands, for the purpose of ascertaining whether the head belongs to it.

27. Against the appellation of the statue falsely termed Seneca in the Bath, in the Borghese villa, I might have adduced clear proof from a statue of white marble, of the size of life, in the Pamfili villa, which perfectly resembles it even in countenance, and which carries in its left hand a vessel shaped like a basket. Two small statues in the Albani villa are, again, similar to this latter statue, and, like it, they carry a basket. At the feet of one of them is a comic mask; so that we clearly see that the latter, as well as the former, represent servants in a comedy, who, like Sosias, at the opening of the *Andrius* of Terence, were sent out to buy food.

28. I might have supported my conjecture, — that the Trophies of Marius, as they are called, are rather to be attributed to Domitian, — by adducing a few pieces of other trophies in the Barberini villa, at Castel-Gandolfo, which were disinterred here, where once stood the villa of Publius Clodius, and afterwards of Domitian. The elegance of the workmanship on these fragments does not yield in the slightest degree to the skill displayed by those, and it must be inferred, not without reason, that they are to be esteemed as works of the same period, if not

by the same artist. Now, as trophies were raised by Domitian's command in his villa, he may also have ordered them to be erected near an aqueduct on which some improvements had perhaps been made by him.

29. In conclusion, I must lament the fate that has befallen the *History of Art* in the French translation, which has been published at Paris, by Sailant, in two volumes, octavo. On changing the size, it was thought better to set the subject of each section over the section to which it related, instead of placing it in the margin, and to make so many distinct divisions and paragraphs. But this dismemberment breaks the connection; and as each one portion is thus separated from another, they appear like independent members, — and the more so, as the translator has, in many places, either changed or entirely omitted the connecting words. The size of the volumes might perhaps have been offered as an excuse for not placing the contents in the margin; but no excuse can be urged for making sections where there are none in the original, and where there ought not to be any, — which is the case at the beginning of the second part. Here the translator has cut up into quite small scraps that part which contains a list of the earliest artists prior to the time of Phidias; and the brief notices of these artists are again detached, with particular numbers, and translated names, as if he were apprehensive the reader might get out of breath if he did not snip a portion from each end of the connected passage. From one single head he has made twenty-four.

30. But on the translation itself I cannot think

without disgust, for I do not believe that it would be easy to treat a work worse, in translating it from its own into another tongue. I began by noticing, on the margin, mistakes in the meaning; but I became weary of this, because not a single page was free from them. The translator not only shows gross ignorance in the most common acquirements in art, but innumerable passages prove that he does not fully understand German.

31. I should have been ready to revise and correct the translation with the greatest attention, if those interested in it had made me such a request. But I knew nothing about it; and when I heard, two years ago, — I know not how, — of a translation of this work of mine, I made inquiry concerning it of some persons in Paris whom I knew; I learnt, however, nothing further. At last, when the rumor in regard to the translation was confirmed, I caused a request to be made to the lieutenant of police at Paris, that it might not pass the censorship until I had examined and approved it; I believe, however, that the request was made too late. Plato says, that no one is intentionally bad; the present instance seems to contradict the saying; for those interested might have furnished a correct translation without expense; but they did not wish it; and therefore this monster saw the light.

32. I am now able to announce the publication of my work in the Italian language on the hitherto unpublished monuments of antiquity. It has been printed at my own expense, and without a subscription list, and will appear about next Christmas, in two volumes, large folio. In addition to the orna-

mental engravings, it contains two hundred and ten plates of the ancient monuments which are explained and illustrated in it, together with a *Full Preliminary Treatise on the Art of Drawing among the Egyptians, Etruscans, and especially the Greeks.*

ROME, September 1, 1766.

HISTORY OF ANCIENT ART.

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BOOK I.

THE ORIGIN OF ART, AND THE CAUSES OF ITS DIFFERENCE AMONG DIFFERENT NATIONS.





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## BOOK I.

THE ORIGIN OF ART, AND THE CAUSES OF ITS DIFFERENCE AMONG DIFFERENT NATIONS.

### CHAPTER I.

*The Shapes with which Art commenced.*

1. THE arts which are dependent on drawing have, like all inventions, commenced with the necessary; the next object of research was beauty; and, finally, the superfluous followed: these are the three principal stages in art.

2. In the infancy of art, its productions are, like the handsomest of human beings at birth, misshapen, and similar one to another, like the seeds of plants of entirely different kinds; but in its bloom and decay, they resemble those mighty streams, which, at the point where they should be the broadest, either dwindle into small rivulets, or totally disappear.

3. The art of drawing among the Egyptians is to be compared to a tree which, though well cultivated, has been checked and arrested in its growth by a worm, or other casualties; for it remained unchanged, precisely the same, yet without attaining its perfec-

tion, until the period when Greek kings held sway over them; and the case appears to have been the same with Persian art. Etruscan art, when in its bloom, may be compared to a raging stream, rushing furiously along between crags and over rocks; for the characteristics of its drawing are hardness and exaggeration. But, among the Greeks, the art of drawing resembles a river whose clear waters flow in numerous windings through a fertile vale, and fill its channel, yet do not overflow.

4. As art has been devoted principally to the representation of man, we might say of him more correctly than Protagoras did, that "he is the measure and rule of all things." The most ancient records also teach us, that the earliest essays, especially in the drawing of figures, have represented, not the manner in which a man appears to us, but what he is; not a view of his body, but the outline of his shadow. From this simplicity of shape the artist next proceeded to examine proportions; this inquiry taught exactness; the exactness hereby acquired gave confidence, and afterwards success, to his endeavors after grandeur, and at last gradually raised art among the Greeks to the highest beauty. After all the parts constituting grandeur and beauty were united, the artist, in seeking to embellish them, fell into the error of profuseness; art consequently lost its grandeur; and the loss was finally followed by its utter downfall.

The following is, in a few words, the design of this treatise on the History of Art. In the first place, I shall speak, generally, of the shape with which art commenced; next, of the different mate-

rials upon which it worked; and lastly, of the influence of climate upon it.

5. Art commenced with the simplest shape, and by working in clay, — consequently, with a sort of statuary; for even a child can give a certain form to a soft mass, though unable to draw anything on a surface, because merely an idea of an object is sufficient for the former, whereas for the latter much other knowledge is requisite; but painting was afterwards employed to embellish sculpture.

6. Art appears to have originated in a similar way among all the nations by which it has been cultivated; and there is no sufficient reason for assigning any particular country as the land of its birth, for every nation has found within itself the first seed of those things which are indispensable; and although Art, like Poetry, may be regarded as a daughter of Pleasure, still it cannot be denied that pleasure is as necessary to human nature as those things are without which existence cannot be continued; and it can be maintained that painting and the forming of figures, or the art of painting and figuring our thoughts, are older than the art of writing them, — as proved by the history of the Mexicans and other nations. But as the earliest essays appear to have been made on figures of the divinities, the era in which art was invented consequently differs according to the age of each nation, and the earlier or later introduction of religious worship; so that the Chaldæans or Egyptians probably represented for worship, under a material form, the higher powers, whose existence they had imagined at an earlier period than the Greeks. For it is the same in this case as with

other arts and discoveries, — take, for instance, the example of the purple color, — which were earlier discovered and practised in the East. The accounts of wrought images, in the Holy Scripture (1), are older than anything that we know of the Greeks. The figures, which were, at the outset, carved from wood, and others that were cast in brass, have each one a special name in the Hebrew language. After a time, the former were gilded, or overlaid with gold-leaf. But those who speak of the origin of a custom, as well as of an art, and their communication from one nation to another, commonly err by confining themselves to isolated points between which there is a resemblance, and drawing from them a general conclusion; just as Dionysius attempts to maintain that the Romans are descended from the Greeks, because the athletes of both nations wore a band about the hips. Even if we were willing to admit that art was introduced from Egypt among the Greeks, we must, at least, also acknowledge that the same thing may have happened to it as to the mythology; for the fables of the Egyptians were seemingly born anew beneath the skies of Greece, and took an entirely different form, and other names.

7. In Egypt art had been flourishing from the remotest periods; and, if Sesostriis lived more than three hundred years before the Trojan war, then the tallest obelisks (2) now in Rome, — the work of his reign, — and the largest edifices at Thebes, of which mention has already been made, existed at a time when darkness and obscurity still rested upon art among the Greeks. The causes why art flourished at an earlier date among the Egyptians appear to have been

the dense population of the country, and the power of their kings; the latter was able to carry into execution the inventions growing out of the industrious habits to which the former necessarily gave birth. But the populousness of the country, as well as the power of its kings, was favored by its position and its climate. The latter, from its uniform temperature and warm skies, enabled the people to pass life, in general, pleasantly, and find support easily; and propagation was encouraged, because their children went naked until maturity. By the former, that is, the position of Egypt, nature has apparently intended it for a single, indivisible, and consequently mighty kingdom, since it is traversed by one large river, and its boundaries are the sea on the north, and lofty mountains on other sides,—for the river, and the plain surface of the land, were unfavorable to partition; and if several kings once ruled there at the same time, still it was a condition of things that had but a short duration. Hence, Egypt enjoyed in a greater degree than other kingdoms tranquillity and peace,—by which the arts were brought into being and nurtured. Greece, on the contrary, was divided, even naturally, by numerous mountains, rivers, islands, and promontories, and, in the most remote periods, there were as many kings as cities, the repose of which was disturbed by disputes and wars, to which their proximity gave frequent occasion,—a state of things unfavorable to the increase of population, and consequently also to industry and invention in arts. It is therefore easy to be understood why art should have been cultivated less early in Greece than in Egypt.

8. Among the Greeks, art commenced with the same simplicity as in Eastern lands; insomuch that they cannot have derived the first seeds of it from any other people: they appear to have been original discoverers. For they had already among themselves thirty divinities, whom they honored under visible forms; and, not having yet learned to fashion them after the likeness of man, they were contented to signify them by a rude block or square stone, as the Arabians and Amazons did; and these thirty stones existed in the city of Phere, in Achaia, even as late as the time of Pausanias. This was the shape of the Juno at Thespiæ, and the Diana at Iearus. Diana Patroa and Jupiter Milichus at Sicyon were, like the most ancient Venus at Paphos, nothing more than a sort of columns; Bacchus was worshipped under the form of a pillar; and even Cupid and the Graces were represented merely by blocks of stone; hence, the word *κίων*, a *pillar*, continued to signify a statue even in the best days of Greece. Among the Spartans, Castor and Pollux were in the form of two parallel blocks of wood, connected by two cross sticks; and this primitive mode of representing the twins is seen in the sign  $\Pi$ , by which they were denoted in the zodiac.

9. In course of time, heads were set upon these stones. Among many others, a Neptune at Tricoloni and a Jupiter at Tegea, both places in Arcadia, were of this kind; for here, more than in any other part of Greece, the people adhered to the most ancient form in art. Even in the time of Pausanias there was still to be found in Athens itself a statue of Venus Urania thus shaped. The first images of the Greeks,







therefore, manifest originality in the invention and production of a figure. The Holy Scriptures (3), too, allude to heathen idols which had no other part of the human form than the head. Four-cornered stones with heads on them were termed by the Greeks, as it is well known, *Hermæ* (4), that is, big stones; and artists constantly kept a supply of them.

10. The accounts in authors and the ancient monuments will enable us to follow the progressive improvement in the conformation of this rough draught and rude beginning of a figure. At the commencement, there was observable on the middle of these stones with heads merely the difference in sex, which an ill-shaped face probably left doubtful. When, therefore, it is said that Eumarus of Athens first showed in painting the difference of sex, the remark is probably to be understood particularly of the conformation of the face in youth, in which this painter perhaps denoted the sex of young persons by the features and charms peculiar to each. This artist flourished before the age of Romulus, and not long after the restoration of the Olympic games by Iphitus. At last, the upper part of the figure received its form, while the lower portion still retained its previous shape of a *Hermes*, yet so far modified that the separation of the thighs was denoted by an incision, as we see in a naked female figure of this kind in the Albani villa.\* I mention this figure, not as being a work of the earliest days of art, — for it was in reality executed at a much later date, — but as a proof that artists were acquainted with such primi-

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\* Plate I.

tive figures, the form of which they intended hereby to represent. We do not know, however, whether the Hermæ designated by the female nature, which were set up by order of Sesostris in those conquered lands that had offered no resistance, were thus shaped, or whether they bore the sign of a triangle (5), after the Egyptian manner of indicating the female sex.

11. At last, Dædalus, according to the opinion most commonly received, began to separate entirely the lower half of these Hermæ, in the form of legs; and, as there was not sufficient skill in art at that time to fashion an entire human figure from a single block of stone, he wrought in wood; and from him the first statues are said to have received the name of Dædali. We can form some idea of his works from the opinion of the sculptors of the time of Socrates, as quoted by him. "If Dædalus," he says, "should live again, and produce works similar to those which pass under his name, he would, as the sculptors say, be an object of ridicule."

12. Among the Greeks the first outlines of these images were simple, and, for the most part, straight lines; and it is probable, that, in the infancy of art, whether among the Egyptians, Etruscans, or Greeks, there was no difference in this respect; and this probability is also confirmed by the testimony of the ancient authors.

In regard to Greek art, this method of delineation is visible in one of the oldest Greek figures in bronze, which may be found in the Nani museum, at Venice, — on the base of which is the following inscription, ΠΟΛΤΚΡΑΤΕΣ ΑΝΕΘΕΚΕ, that is, Decl-

icated by Polycrates, — who was not, probably, the artist of it. To this flat style of drawing is also to be attributed the resemblance of the eyes in heads on the oldest Greek coins, and of Egyptian figures; in both cases they are without convexity, and somewhat long, — as I shall state more in detail hereafter. It is probable that Diodorus wished to signify such eyes, where he says, in speaking of the figures of Dædalus, that they were made ὄμμασι μεμνκότα, which translators have rendered by *luminibus clausis*, “closed eyes.” This is not probable; for if he wished to make eyes, it is likely that he made them open. Moreover, the translation is utterly at variance with the proper and invariable meaning of the word *μύειν*, which means to wink, *nictare*, in Italian *sbirciare*, and must be rendered by *conniventibus oculis*, “half-shut eyes,” just as *μεμνκότα χείλεα* means half-opened lips. But the first paintings were monograms, as Epicurus termed the gods, that is, unilinear outlines of the shadow of the human figure.

13. From such lines and forms must, therefore, necessarily arise a kind of figures which, from their conformation, we are accustomed to call Egyptian; that is, they are perfectly straight and motionless; and the arms are not detached, but lie close to the sides, precisely in the manner in which a statue of an Arcadian victor in the Games, by the name of Arrhachion, was executed, even as late as the twenty-fourth Olympiad. But this resemblance does not prove that the Greeks learnt their art from the Egyptians. In fact, they had no opportunity of doing so; for prior to the reign of Psammetichus, one of the last Egyptian kings, foreigners were not allowed

to enter Egypt; but the Greeks had cultivated art long before this time. The voyages to that country by the wise men of Greece — not undertaken, however, until after its conquest by the Persians — were made principally with a view to become acquainted with its form of government, and to penetrate into the secret knowledge of its priests: they had no reference to art. Those who derive everything from Eastern lands would, on the contrary, find greater probabilities on the side of the Phœnicians, with whom the Greeks had commercial intercourse at a very early date, and from whom they are said to have received, through Cadmus, their first letters. The Etruscans, also, who were powerful on the sea, had been allies of the Phœnicians in the remotest times, before the age of Cyrus. One proof of this, among others, may be found in the fact that these two nations equipped a fleet in common to act against the Phocæans.

14. This, however, will not convince those who are aware that a few Greek authors have acknowledged the derivation of their mythology from the Egyptians, and that the priests of this people asserted that they could show the Greek deities in their own, though under different names and a peculiar symbolic form, as Diodorus in particular relates. If this testimony should not be contradicted, I confess that a strong argument against my opinion might be deduced from the alleged communication to the Greeks of the religious system of the Egyptians. For if this communication be assumed as proved, it might be inferred therefrom that the Greeks consequently derived also from the Egyp-



tians the shapes of the gods themselves, and their figures. But I cannot admit this pretension. I am more disposed to believe, that after the conquest of Egypt by Alexander, where his successors, the Ptolemies, reigned, the priests — in order to show their conformity with the Greeks, and induce them to forbearance in regard to their ancient religious rites — invented the idea of this close relationship between the deities of the two nations, since they must necessarily have felt an apprehension of appearing ridiculous in the eyes of their keen-witted conquerors, on account of the strange shape of their deities, and, perchance, experiencing a fate similar to that which happened to them through Cambyses. This supposition acquires the greatest probability from the account given us by Macrobius of the worship of Saturn and Serapis, which was introduced among the Egyptians by the Ptolemies, not until after the time of Alexander the Great, with religious services corresponding to those paid to them by the Greeks of Alexandria. Now, since the Egyptian priests, and the people too, were obliged, on the one hand, to acknowledge and honor Greek deities, the best course, consequently, for them to pursue was to pretend, on the other hand, that their divinities were not different from those of the Greeks; and if the Greeks admitted this, they must also have admitted the reception of their religious worship from the Egyptians, because they were the older people (6). Moreover, it is well known to all, that the Greeks possessed but little information in regard to the religion of other nations. Their ignorance in this respect is proved, among other instances, by the long list of

Persian deities of which they give us the names; whereas this people worshipped one god alone, the Sun, in his emblem of fire.

15. Though this is not the place for me to originate objections which I may find it difficult to answer, still I cannot but suppose that thoughts of the same kind will suggest themselves to many of my readers as well as to myself. If, for example, any one should see a scarab cut on obelisks, or engraved on the convex side of Egyptian (7) and Etruscan gems, as an image of the sun, he might consequently infer that the Etruscans had borrowed the emblem from the Egyptians, thereby rendering it probable that they had likewise derived their art from the same source. Certainly it must appear strange to us, that an insect so vile should have become a sacred symbol with the one, and apparently with the other nation also; and there is reason to suppose that even the Greeks attached some peculiar meaning to the beetle. As Pamphus, one of their earliest poets, hides his Jupiter in the dung of a horse, we might interpret the idea to be an image of the presence of divinity in all things, even the meanest; but it seems to me that this low metaphor may, perchance, be drawn precisely from the scarab, which rakes over, and lives in, horse-dung. But, that I may not enter into any further analysis of this unpleasant image, I am willing to acknowledge that the Etruscans received it from the Egyptians. It is, however, possible that it may have been communicated through a particular channel, not involving the necessity of a visit to Egypt, which, as mentioned above, was a privilege

not permitted to foreigners, at the period of which we speak. But the case is different in regard to art; it could not be learnt in any other way than by drawing after their works.

16. The opinion of a few Greek writers, that Greece derived its art from Egypt, will not be regarded as proof of the assertion, even though all of them assented to it, by those who know the fondness of the human mind for everything foreign, — a fondness from which the Greeks were not more exempt than other men; since even the dwellers in the island of Delos alleged that their river, the Inopus, came from the Nile, beneath the sea, and, on reaching them, again burst forth in springs.

17. I might also adduce, in opposition to the common opinion, the different customs of the artists of the three nations of which we now speak; for we know that it was usual among the Etruscans and most ancient Greeks to place the inscription on the figure itself. This is not the case with any Egyptian work; here, the hieroglyphs are on the socle, and on the shaft which serves as a support to the figure (8). Needham attempted to show the contrary by means of a head of blackish stone, in the royal museum at Turin, the face of which was entirely covered with incised unintelligible signs, which were, as he thought, Egyptian letters, and similar to the Chinese (9). But the Turin head has not the least resemblance to other Egyptian heads; and it is wrought from a soft stone, a kind of slate, termed Bardiglio, and must consequently be considered as an imposture.

18. In the course of time, increasing knowledge

taught the Etruscan and Greek artists how to forsake the stiff and motionless conformations of their earliest essays, to which the Egyptians adhered, — compulsorily adhered, — and enabled them to express different actions in their figures. But, in art, knowledge precedes beauty; being based on exact, severe rules, its teachings at the beginning have necessarily a precise and vigorous definiteness. Consequently, the style of drawing was regular, but angular; expressive, but hard, and frequently exaggerated, — as the Etruscan works show. This is just the way in which sculpture has been improved in modern days by the celebrated Michael Angelo. Works in this style have been preserved on rilievi in marble, and on engraved gems, — which I shall notice in their proper place; and this is the style which the writers mentioned above compare with the Etruscan, and which, as it appears, continued to be a peculiarity of the school at Ægina; for the artists of this island, which was inhabited by Dorians, seem to have adhered to it longer than any others. Strabo, in the use of the word *σκολιός*, *distorted* (10), apparently intends to signify that exaggeration which artists still retained in the position and action of their figures, though they had forsaken the shapes of the earliest times. He relates that there were at Ephesus many temples, some of which had been built in the most remote periods, and others at a later date; that, in the former, there were ancient statues of wood, *ἀρχαία ξόανα*, but in the others, *σκολιὰ ἔργα*. Now it is not probable that, by the latter expression, he means to say that the statues in the more modern temples were bad and faulty, — as

Casaubon has understood it, translating *σκολιός* by *pravus*, “bad,” — because the censure would be far more applicable to the most ancient figures (11).

19. The word *ὀρθός* seems to signify just the opposite of *σκολιός*, which, where it is applied to statues, — as in Pausanias, in regard to a statue of Jupiter from the hand of Lysippus, — is explained by translators to mean an upright posture, whereas it ought rather to denote a figure in a quiet attitude, without action.

## CHAPTER II.

### *Materials used in Statuary.*

1. THE second chapter of this book treats of the materials in which sculpture executed its works, and also shows the different stages of its development; in the first of which it wrought in clay; then, carved from wood; next, from ivory; and, finally, applied itself to stone and metal (1).

2. Even the ancient forms of expression point to clay as the earliest material of art; for the workmanship of the potter, and of the shaper or image-cutter, is denoted by the same word. In the time of Pausanias there were still, in different temples, figures of the divinities, formed of clay, as, for example, at Tritia in Achaia, in the temple of Ceres and Proserpine; and a clay image of Amphictyon, who hospitably entertained Bacchus together with other deities, stood in a temple of Bacchus at Athens; and in this same city, in the portico named Ceramicus (2), from its works in clay, stood Theseus in the act of throwing Sciron into the sea, and also Aurora carrying away Cephalus; both of these works were in clay. Even in the buried city of Pompeii, four statues of burnt clay have been found, which are now set up in the Herculaneum museum; two of them, a little less than life, represent comic



figures of different sexes, and have masks upon their faces; the other two, which are somewhat larger than life, are an Æsculapius and an Hygeia. A bust of Pallas, of the size of life, with a small round shield on the left breast, was also discovered there. Images of this kind were occasionally painted of a red color (3), as shown by a male head of clay, which was found in ancient Tusculum; likewise, by a small figure, clothed as a senator, which is formed in one piece with the socle; on the back of the socle is the name of the figure, CRVSCVS. The figures of Jupiter, in particular, were said to have their faces painted with this color, and there was one of the kind at Phigalia in Arcadia; Pan, also, was painted red; and the same thing is done even now by the Indians (4). The epithet of *Φοινικόπεξα*, *Red-footed*, applied to Ceres, is apparently derived from this practice.

3. Even subsequently, not only during the flower of art, but also when that period had passed, clay continued to be the first material employed by artists, partly in rilievi, and partly in painted vases. The former were not only introduced into the friezes of temples, but they also served the artists as models; and in order to multiply them, copies were made from a mould, previously prepared. The numerous fragments of precisely the same representation are a confirmation of what I say. These impressions were then worked over with the modelling-stick, as can easily be seen. Occasionally, these models were strung on a cord, and suspended in the workshops of artists; for in the middle of some of them there is a hole, made for the purpose (5).

4. The ancient artists not only prepared models to assist them in their work, and for the workshop, but they also strove to distinguish themselves, even in the most brilliant period of art, by a public display of works in clay, as well as in marble and bronze. In fact, the practice of exposing models of this kind to the public gaze was continued even until a few years after the death of Alexander the Great; that is to say, until the time of Demetrius Poliorettes. This exposition occurred sometimes in Bœotia, sometimes in the cities about Athens, and especially in Plateæa, at the celebration of the festivals which were held in commemoration of Dædalus, one of the earliest artists. Besides the emulation in this kind of work which such a public display of models maintained among the artists, it also tended to make the judgment of others as to their skill more correct and thorough, since modelling in clay is to the sculptor what drawing on paper is to the painter. For as the first gush of the grape-juice from the press forms the finest wine, so in the soft material, and on paper, the genius of the artist is seen in its utmost purity and truth; whilst, on the contrary, it is concealed beneath the industry and the polish required in a finished painting and a completed statue. Now as this kind of workmanship continued in high estimation among the ancients, it so happened that, when Corinth rose from her ashes through a colony sent thither by Julius Cæsar, search was made amid the rubbish of the destroyed city, and in its ditches, not less for works of art fashioned in clay than for those in bronze. This is related by Strabo in a passage which, apparently,

has not hitherto been clearly understood. For if Casaubon, his commentator, — whom others have followed, — had formed a distinct idea of his statement, he would not have translated what that writer terms *τορεύματα ὀστρακίνα* by *testacea opera*, “works in tiles,” but by *anaglypha figulina*, “reliefs in clay”; for *τορεύματα*, as I shall show hereafter in full, means “raised works.” The experience of modern days shows that this esteem for works in clay was well deserved; and it may be stated, as a general rule, that nothing bad of this kind is ever found, — an assertion that cannot be made of rilievi in marble.

5. The Cardinal Alexander Albani has placed some of the most beautiful fragments in his magnificent villa; among them is Argos at work upon the vessel of the Argonauts, together with another figure, probably Tiphys, the helmsman of it, and Minerva, who is attaching the sail to a mast. This piece, and two other fragments that were formed in the same mould, together with other sherds of such rilievi in clay, were found in the wall of a vineyard in front of the Porta Latina, where they had served instead of tiles.

6. The usual size of rilievi of this kind is generally that of the large tablets of clay — we cannot call them bricks — that are used in forming arches. They are about three palms (2 ft. 2 in. Eng.) square superficially, and are baked, like the rilievi, in such a manner that, on being struck, they give a sharp ring; and they are not injured either by dampness, heat, or cold.

7. In this place I cannot forbear to notice a remark by Pliny, from which it would seem as if the

ancient artists who worked in bronze prepared the paste of their moulds from a composition of clay and the finest wheaten flour.

The account given by Pliny of the forming of statues in a mould, which the brother of Lysippus is said to have invented, is not credible, in the manner in which he relates it; for in things relating to art he is not always veracious, and frequently he appears to speak only from hearsay. The portraits of celebrated men which were sent by Varro into all countries, as this same writer mentions, were probably formed of gypsum, like the images of the deities intended for the poor.

8. Of the other kind of monuments of workmanship in clay, namely, the painted vases of the ancients, several thousands have been preserved: I shall speak of them more in detail hereafter. Earthen vessels continued, from the earliest ages, to be employed in sacred and religious offices, even after the increase of luxury had driven them out of use among the burghers. With the ancients, many of them were a substitute for porcelain, and served for ornament, not for utility, for some are found which have no bottom.

9. As the edifices of the most ancient Greeks were made of wood earlier than of stone and marble, so also were statues; this was even the case with the palaces of the Median kings. There are found in Egypt, even at the present day, primeval figures made of wood, — which is sycamore; and many museums have such to exhibit. Pausanias enumerates the different kinds of wood of which the ancient images were carved; and according to Pliny the wood of the

fig-tree was preferred, on account of its softness. Even in the time of the former of these two authors, statues of wood were still to be found in the most celebrated places in Greece. Among others, there were at Megalopolis, in Arcadia, a Juno of this kind, an Apollo with the Muses, likewise a Venus, and a Mercury by Damophon, one of the most ancient artists; even the statue of Apollo, at Delphi, was of wood: it was wrought from a single bole, and was a gift from the inhabitants of Crete. At Thebes, Hylaira and Phœbe, together with the horses of Castor and Pollux, of ebony and ivory, were especially deserving of note, as works of Dipœnus and Scyllis, scholars of Dædalus; and at Tegea, in Arcadia, a Diana of the same kind, executed in the infancy of art; at Salamis there was a statue of Ajax, of ebony. Pausanias thinks that statues of wood were called Dædala prior to the age of Dædalus. At Sais and Thebes, in Egypt, there were even colossal statues of wood. We find that statues of wood were still erected to the victors in the Greek public games in the sixty-first Olympiad, that is to say, in the time of Pisistratus (6); even the celebrated Myron made a wooden Hecate at Ægina; and Diagoras, who is celebrated among the atheists of antiquity, cooked his food with a figure of Hercules, because he had no other wood (7). In the course of time, the practice of gilding such figures was introduced both among the Egyptians and the Greeks (8): Gori was the possessor of two Egyptian figures which had been gilded. A Fortuna Virilis, which belonged to the age of Servius Tullius, and was probably the work of an Etruscan, was still an object of reverence in



Rome under the first Roman emperors. After wood had been, as it were, rejected from statuary, it still continued to be a material in which cunning artists displayed their skill; and we find, for example, that Quintus, the brother of Cicero, ordered a lamp-stand, *lychnuchus*, to be carved, at Samos, for himself; consequently, the artist was celebrated in this kind of work.

10. In the earliest ages, carving in ivory had been practised by the Greeks; and Homer speaks of the handles and sheaths of daggers, even of bedsteads, and many other things, as made from this material. The seats of the first kings and consuls in Rome were also of ivory; and each Roman who attained to that dignity, who enjoyed this honor, had his own ivory seat. Of this kind were the seats on which the assembled Senate sat, when, in the forum at Rome, it listened to a funeral speech from the rostrum. Even the lyres, and the trestles of tables, were made of ivory; and Seneca had in his house, at Rome, five hundred tables of cedar, supported by feet of ivory. On some antique vases of baked clay, in the Vatican library, the pedestals of the stools are painted perfectly white, — probably to denote ivory. In Greece, there were nearly a hundred statues of ivory and gold, the greater number of which belonged to the earlier periods of art, and were larger than life (9); even in a small place in Arcadia there was a beautiful statue of Æsculapius, and in a small temple on the high road to Pellene, in Achaia, there was also an image of Pallas, — both of ivory and gold. A temple at Cyzicum, in Pontus, of which the joints in the stones were ornamented by narrow



bands of gold, contained a Jupiter of ivory, upon the head of which an Apollo, in marble, was placing a crown; also at Tibur was a Hercules of this kind. Even the island of Malta possessed a few such statues of Victoria, which, though belonging to the earliest ages, were still executed with great skill. By order of Herodes Atticus, the celebrated and opulent orator of the reigns of Trajan and the Antonines, a chariot with four gilded horses, whose hoofs were of ivory, was placed in the temple of Neptune, at Corinth. With the exception of a few small figures, no trace of ivory statues has yet been found, notwithstanding the many discoveries that have been made, because ivory decomposes in the earth, like the teeth of all other animals, with the exception of the wolf (10). At Tirynthus, in Arcadia, there was a Cybele of gold; all but the face, which was composed of the teeth of the hippopotamus.

11. It seems to have been the practice, in making such statues of different materials, to finish the head first, and then the other parts. This is an allowable inference from an account, given by Pausanias, of a statue of Jupiter at Megara, designed to be made of ivory and gold; but the work having been interrupted in consequence of the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war, the head was the only part completed; the remaining parts were moulded of plaster and clay. I will mention, as something unusual, a small figure of a child in ivory, which was entirely gilded, that is to be found in the museum of Mr. Hamilton, Minister Plenipotentiary from Great Britain to Naples.

12. The first stone of which statues were made

appears to have been the same with that of which the most ancient edifices in Greece — as, for example, the temple of Jupiter at Elis — were constructed, namely, a kind of tufo, which is of a whitish color: Plutarch mentions a Silenus cut from this stone. At Rome, the artists also used travertino for the same purpose, and the following figures, formed from it, may be found here; namely, a consular statue, in the villa of the Cardinal Alexander Albani; another in the Altieri palace, in the quarter named Campitelli; the latter is seated, and holds on its knee a tablet; also, a female figure, in the Belloni villa, of the size of life, like the two others, and with a ring on the forefinger. Figures made from such inferior kinds of stone were usually placed about tombs.

13. At first, the head, hands, and feet of figures in wood were formed of white marble, as was the case with a Juno and Venus executed by that Damophon whose name was mentioned a few pages back; this sort of statues was still usual at the time of Phidias; for his Pallas at Plataeæ was constructed in this manner. Such statues, of which the extremities only were of stone, were called Acroliths: this is the signification of the word, hitherto undiscovered either by Salmasius or others. Pliny remarks that artists began in the fiftieth Olympiad, for the first time, to work in marble, — a remark which is probably to be understood of entire figures of marble. Occasionally, marble statues were clothed with real cloth: such was the case with a statue of Ceres at Bura, in Achaia; and a very ancient Æsculapius at Sicyon had likewise an actual (11) garment.

14. From the practice just mentioned originated the idea of painting marble figures so as to represent the dress, of which an example is furnished in a Diana found in Herculaneum in the year 1760. It is four palms two and a half inches ( $36\frac{1}{2}$  in. Eng.) high, and apparently belongs to the earliest period of art. The hair is blond; the upper garment is white; so also is the tunic, around the lower part of which run three stripes. The lowest stripe is narrow and gold-colored; the next is broader, and of a purple color, and ornamented with white flowers and scrolls; the third is of the same color as the second. The third chapter will give a more circumstantial account of this statue. The statue which Virgil represents Corydon as vowing to Diana was intended to be of marble, but with red buskins. Statues are found wrought from marble of every kind but one, even the variegated; not one has yet been discovered in the Laconian green marble, named *verde antico*, which was quarried at Tænarus, the celebrated Lacedæmonian promontory. Pausanias speaks of two statues of the Emperor Adrian which were at Athens, one of them being made of stone from the island of Thasus, and the other of an Egyptian stone. By the latter he probably means porphyry; by the former, a spotted stone, perhaps the same as that which we term *paonazzo*. The heads, hands, and feet were probably of white marble.

15. The artists of every nation in which art has flourished have wrought in marble; and in the next book, *Art among the Egyptians*, I shall make some special remarks upon the kinds of stone from which the monuments of this nation are sculptured. Among

the Greeks, the kinds most celebrated were the Parian and the Pentelic; and even at the present day two principal varieties of Greek marble are observable in statues. One of them is a fine-grained marble, which appears to be a white, uniform paste; the other consists of larger grains, mixed with particles which glisten like crystals of salt; hence it is termed *marmo salino*, "saline marble," and it is probably the Pentelic marble from the Attic territory. It is very hard, harder even than some varieties of the former marble; and on account of this quality and the irregularity of its grain, is not quite so tractable as the other, which is consequently better adapted for ornaments requiring fine work. Among many other statues executed from this marble, probably the Pentelic, is the beautiful Pallas in the villa of the Cardinal Alexander Albani. The former kind of marble, apparently the Parian, although found of different degrees of hardness, is yet, on account of the homogeneousness of its substance and its composition, suitable for all sorts of work; and as its color resembles that of a pure white skin, it has for this reason also obtained the preference. Within a few years, veins and strata have been opened in the marble quarries at Carrara, which are not inferior to the Parian marble either in fineness of grain, or color, or softness.

16. If Pausanias is to be credited, statues of bronze must have been made in Italy much earlier than in Greece; for he names, as the first Greek artists in this kind of statuary, a certain Rhœcus, and Theodorus of Samos (12). The celebrated seal of Polycrates, ruler of Samos, was engraved by the

latter; he also wrought the great silver cup capable of holding six hundred eimer (149 hogsheads), which Cræsus, king of Lydia, sent to Delphi (13). At the same time the Spartans caused a vessel to be made, as a present to this king, which held three hundred eimer, and was ornamented with figures of all kinds of animals. But at a still earlier date, and prior to the foundation of the city of Cyrene, in Africa, there were three statues of bronze at Samos, each six ells in height; they were in a kneeling posture, and supported a large cup, on which the Samians had expended a tenth part of the gains of their commerce with Tartessus. The first chariot with four horses of bronze was erected by the Athenians before the temple of Pallas, after the death of Pisistratus; that is, subsequently to the sixty-seventh Olympiad (14). The writers of Roman history, on the other hand, relate that, before this time, Romulus had erected a statue of himself, crowned by Victory, and seated on a chariot with four horses,—the whole made of bronze. The chariot and horses were spoil taken from the city of Camerinum. This is said to have been done after his triumph over the Fidenates, in the seventh year of his reign, and consequently in the eighth Olympiad. The inscription on it, according to Plutarch, was in Greek characters; but since the Roman letter resembled the earliest Greek character, as Diodorus mentions on another occasion, that work might have proceeded from the hands of an Etruscan artist. Furthermore, mention is made of a statue of Horatius Cocles, in bronze, and of another, an equestrian one, which was erected to the renowned Clælia, in the infancy of the Roman republic.



lic; and when Spurius Cassius was put to death for his attempts against the liberty of his countrymen, a portion of his confiscated property was expended in the erection of statues, likewise of bronze, to Ceres. The little figures of the divinities, in bronze, which are found in great numbers, were used for many purposes. The smallest of them were the travelling-gods, those which the traveller carried with himself, and even on his person; thus, for example, Sylla carried in his bosom constantly, and in all his campaigns, a small golden image of the Pythian Apollo, and was accustomed to kiss it.

17. The art of engraving gems must be very ancient; and it was practised even among nations very remote from each other. It is said that, at first, the Greeks used as a seal a piece of wood that had been perforated by worms; and there is in the former Stosch museum a gem which is cut so as to imitate the grooves in such a piece of wood. In this department of art, the Egyptians, as well as the Greeks and Etruscans, attained to great perfection,—as it will be shown in the following chapters. Even the Ethiopians had seals cut in gems, which were wrought by means of another hard stone. How common this sort of work was among the ancients we may learn, without recourse to other authorities, from the two thousand drinking-vessels, made from gems, which were found by Pompey in the treasury of Mithridates; and we may infer the host of artists from the incredible number of antique engraved gems which have been preserved, and are still daily disinterred.

18. I will here remark, that in Euripides and



Plato a stone set in a ring is termed *Σφενδόνη*, a *sling*; the reason of the appellation and the resemblance between the two have, probably, never yet been pointed out. The hoop of the ring resembles the leather in which the stone rests when in the sling, and the two bands by which the body of the sling is suspended and swung. For the very same reason, the Romans afterwards termed a ring with a stone set in it a *funda*, or “sling.”

19. Having thus briefly noticed the different materials employed in art by the ancients, I shall close the chapter with some account of their glass-work, which, from the skill displayed in it, is also deserving of mention, and the more so, because they carried this department of art to a higher degree of excellence than the moderns, — an assertion that might appear unwarrantable to those who have not examined their works of this kind.

20. As a general thing, glass was applied to a greater variety of purposes among the ancients than it has been by the moderns. Besides its employment for vessels of common use, of which large numbers are to be found in the Herculaneum museum, it also served for the preservation of the ashes of the dead, which were deposited in tombs (15). Of these vessels, the two largest are in the possession of Mr. Hamilton, Minister Plenipotentiary at Naples from Great Britain. Both are uninjured. One of them, more than two palms and a half (21 inches 8 lines) high, was found in a tomb near Pozzuoli. A smaller vessel, belonging to the same museum, was found in the month of October, 1767, near Cuma. It was filled with ashes, and was protected by a leaden

case; but the lead was knocked off and sold by the finder. Among some hundred quintals of fragments of vessels for common use which have been dug up in the Farnese Island, so called, nine miles from Rome, on the road to Viterbo, and which were sold to the Roman glass-manufactories, I have seen a few pieces of drinking-cups that must have been executed on a lathe; for the ornaments on them, which were very much raised, and, as it were, cemented upon them, showed very distinctly the mark of the wheel with which the artist had begun to polish the corners and edges.

21. Besides the use of glass of a common kind in these vessels, it was also employed in covering the floors of rooms. For this purpose, not only glass of a single color was used, but also a variegated kind, so composed as to imitate mosaic. Of the former kind of pavement traces have been found in the Farnese Island above mentioned, consisting of tablets of a green color and of the thickness of a medium tile.

22. In the composite variegated kind of glass, two small pieces which came to light in Rome a few years ago display a skill that is truly amazing; neither of them is quite an inch long, or a third of an inch broad. One of them exhibits on a dark, variegated ground a bird, resembling a duck, of different and very lively colors, but painted more after the Chinese manner. The outline is firm and sharp; the colors are beautiful and pure, and of very brilliant effect, because the artist has introduced, as the places required it, sometimes translucent, and sometimes opaque glass. The most delicate pencil of the miniature-painter could not have expressed more accurately

the circle of the eyeball, and the visibly overlapping feathers on the breast and wings. The fragment is broken off just back of the commencement of the wings. But this piece excites the greatest astonishment in the spectator, when, on looking at the other side of it, he sees the very same bird, without being able to detect any difference in the minutest particular. Hence, we must conclude that the figure of the bird extends through the whole thickness of the glass.

23. On both sides, this painting has a granular appearance; and it seems to be composed of single pieces, in the way in which mosaic is made, yet so exactly joined together, that it was impossible to discover, even with a powerful magnifying-glass, the points of junction. This peculiarity, and the extension of the painting through the whole thickness of the fragment, rendered it difficult to conceive immediately how such a work was executed; and the mode of doing it would have continued a mystery for a long time, if streaks of the same colors as those which appear on the surface, and extending through the whole thickness of the glass, had not been detected on the face of the glass at the point where it had been broken off, and hence leading to the conclusion that the painting had been made by placing threads of glass of different colors in contact with each other, and melting them into union. It is not to be supposed that so much labor would have been expended merely in continuing this image through a thickness so inconsiderable as one sixth of an inch, when it was equally easy to obtain the same effect in the same time, by means of longer threads, through a

thickness of many inches. Hence we may conclude that this fragment was a slice from a thicker piece of glass, through which the picture was carried, and that the image could be multiplied just as often as the thickness of the fragment mentioned was contained in the thickness of the piece from which it was separated.

24. The second fragment, which is of about the same size, is prepared in precisely the same way. On it are ornaments in green, yellow, and white, consisting of scrolls, beads, and flowerets, which are represented on a blue ground, and run together so as to form pyramids. The whole is very clear and distinct, and still so infinitely small, that even a keen eye finds a difficulty in following the extremely fine ends in which the scrolls terminate; and yet, notwithstanding, all these delicate ornaments are continued, uninterrupted, through the entire thickness of the fragment.

25. The mode of preparing such works in glass is clearly shown in a rod, a span in length, belonging to the museum of Mr. Hamilton, Minister Plenipotentiary at Naples from Great Britain. The outer layer is blue, but the inner part represents a sort of rose of different colors, extending the whole length of the rod, and each one preserving the same place and winding. Now, as glass can be drawn out into threads of any length, and of exceeding fineness, and with equal facility even when many glass tubes are placed together, and then melted,—their relative position not being changed in drawing, just as a gilded piece of silver, when drawn out into wire, remains gilded in the whole length of it,—it is rendered

probable that, in such manufactures of glass, larger tubes were reduced, by drawing, to tubes of exceeding fineness.

26. But of all the kinds of ancient glass-work, the most useful to us are the impressions moulded from gems, — some engraved in intaglio, and some in relief, — and rilievi of larger size; of the latter kind even an entire vessel has been found. The glass casts of gems engraved in intaglio frequently mimic the different veins and stripes in the gem from which they were taken, and many of them, taken from gems cut in relief, are colored precisely in the same way as the original cameo, — a fact to which Pliny also testifies (16). In two very rare pieces of this kind the raised figure is overlaid with thick gold-leaf. One of them displays the head of Tiberius; it is in the hands of Mr. Byres, a connoisseur in architecture, at Rome. To these casts we are indebted for the preservation of many rare pictures, of which the originals, on engraved gems, are lost. Among others may be mentioned the combat between Pittacus, one of the seven wise men of antiquity, and Phryno, on the promontory of Sigæum: the former entangled his opponent in a net which he threw over his head, and by this means succeeded in mastering him.

27. Of larger pictures, executed in relief on glass, in general only broken pieces are found; still, these exhibit to us the singular dexterity of the ancient artists in this department, and perhaps by their size indicate the use to which they were applied. Such pieces were either framed in marble, or even introduced among painted foliage, and arabesques, so



called, as ornaments of the walls in palaces. The most valuable of these larger rilievi is a cameo, described by Buonarotti, in the museum of the Vatican library. It consists of an oblong tablet, more than a palm (8.8 in. Eng.) in length, and two thirds of a palm in breadth. The subject is Bacchus lying in the lap of Ariadne, together with two Satyrs. The figures are white, in bas-relief, on a dark brown ground.

28. But the highest work in this art was the splendid vases, ornamented with figures in semi-relief, sometimes pure, but frequently variegated, on a dark ground, just as they appear, in great perfection, on genuine vases cut from sardonyx. Of these vessels, there is probably only a single specimen in the whole world in perfect preservation. It was found in the burial urn of the Emperor Alexander Severus, as it is erroneously termed, filled with the ashes of the deceased; and it is preserved among the rarities of the Barberini palace. The height of it is about one palm and a half (17). Some idea may be formed of its beauty from the mistake, continued till now, of describing it as a vase of pure sardonyx (18).

29. Such glass-ware cannot but be regarded by connoisseurs of true taste as infinitely more splendid than all the porcelain vases so much admired, whose beautiful material has not yet been ennobled by any pure work of art, nor its costly products impressed with any worthy or instructive devices. Most porcelain is formed into ridiculous shapes, from which has sprung a childish taste that has diffused itself everywhere.



## CHAPTER III.

### *Influence of Climate on Conformation.*

1. HAVING, in the preceding chapters, adverted to the origin of art, and the materials employed in it, I now proceed to speak of the influence exercised upon it by climate; and this brings us nearer to the source of the differences observable in it among the different nations by which it has been, and is still, cultivated.

2. By the influence of climate we mean the manner in which the conformation of the inhabitants of different countries, not less than their modes of thought, is affected by their situation, and by the temperature and food peculiar to them. Climate, says Polybius, forms the manners, the shape, and the complexion of nations.

3. In regard to the former, namely, the conformation of man, our own observation convinces us, that as, in general, the soul is expressed in the countenance, so also is the character of a people; and as Nature has separated great kingdoms and countries from each other by mountains and rivers, so has she also variously distinguished their inhabitants by particular traits, and, in lands widely distant, she displays a marked difference, not in the statue alone, but even in the individual parts of the

body. Animals do not vary in their kinds according to the nature of the country in which they live, more than man; and some persons have even thought that they could discover a similarity between the character of the animals of a country, and that of its inhabitants.

4. The varieties of conformation of the face are not less numerous than languages, than dialects even; and the differences in the last are immediately dependent upon the organs of speech; so that, in cold countries, the nerves of the tongue must be more rigid and less active than in those that are warmer. If, therefore, the alphabets of the Chinese and Japanese, of the Greenlanders and different tribes in America, are deficient in certain letters, the explanation is to be found in the reason just mentioned. Hence, it happens that all Northern languages have more monosyllables, and are more burdened with consonants, which other nations find it difficult, partly impossible, indeed, to connect and pronounce.

5. A distinguished writer seeks to explain even the difference in the dialects of Italy by difference in the tissue and conformation of the organs of speech. "For this reason," he says, "the Lombards, who are born in the colder portion of Italy, have a harsh and abrupt utterance; the Tuscans and Romans speak in a more measured tone; the Neapolitans, who enjoy a still warmer climate, pronounce the vowels more fully than the former, and speak with a rounder enunciation." They who are conversant with many nations distinguish them not less correctly or certainly by their conformation of face than by their language; and this difference continues to be observable





in the children and grandchildren, although born in other countries to which their parents have removed.

6. The well-known fact of the earlier maturity and puberty of youth in warm countries shows how much more powerful in them is the influence of nature over the complete development of our race; and the brilliancy of the brighter color of the eyes, which are more frequently brown or black than is the case in cold climates, may offer—to those who are unable to pursue the inquiry themselves—additional probability in favor of the superiority of conformation to be found in warm climates. This difference shows itself even in the hair of the head and of the beard, and both, in warm climates, have a more beautiful growth even from childhood, so that the greater number of children in Italy are born with fine curling hair, which loses none of its beauty with increasing years. All the beards, also, are curly, ample, and finely shaped; whereas, those of the pilgrims who come to Rome from the other side of the Alps are, generally, like the hair of their heads, stiff, bristly, straight, and pointed; so that it would be difficult, in the countries of these privileged idlers, to grow a beard like those which we see on the heads of the ancient Greek philosophers. In accordance with this observation, the ancient artists figured the Gauls and Celts with straight hair, as we may see on several monuments, but especially on two seated figures (1) of captive warriors of these races which are in the villa of the Cardinal Alexander Albani.\* In connection with these remarks upon the hair, I will

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\* Plate II.

observe that fair hair is not of so frequent occurrence in warm as in cold climates; but still it is common, and beautiful persons with hair of this languishing color are seen in the former as well as in the latter, — with this difference, however, that the color of it never becomes entirely whitish, the usual effect of which is to give to a person an air of coldness and insipidity.

7. Now, as man has been in all ages the principal subject of art, the artists of every land have given to their figures the facial conformation peculiar to their own nation; and the relation of art to its subject in modern times proves that the different shape in ancient art is to be attributed to the different conformation of its subject, man. For German, Dutch, and French artists, when they do not quit their own land and race, may, like the Chinese and Tartars, be recognized in their paintings; but Rubens, notwithstanding he resided for many years in Italy, designed his figures, invariably, in the same manner as if he had never left his native land; and many other examples might be adduced in support of my opinion.

8. The conformation of the modern Egyptians should show itself at the present day, just as it appears in the works of their former art; but this similarity between Nature and her image is no longer precisely the same that it was. For if the greater number of the Egyptians were as stout and fat as the inhabitants of Cairo are described to be, we could not come to any such conclusion from the ancient figures, for their physical appearance in ancient times appears to have been the opposite of that in modern



days: it is to be remarked, however, that the Egyptians have also been described by the ancient writers as corpulent and fat. The climate, indeed, remains always the same; but the country and its inhabitants may undergo a change of aspect. For if we take into consideration that the modern Egyptians are of foreign origin,—having even introduced their own language,—and that their religious worship, their form of government and mode of life, are entirely different from the system formerly existing, we shall also be able to conceive the difference in their physical conformation. As a consequence of the incredible density of the population, the ancient Egyptians were frugal and industrious; their principal interest was in agriculture; their food consisted more of fruits than of meat; hence their bodies could not be covered with much flesh. The present occupants of the country, on the other hand, seeking only the means of living without labor, are sleeping in sloth; hence their tendency to corpulence.

9. Precisely the same reflection may be made in reference to the modern Greeks. For—not to mention that their blood during several centuries has been mingled with that of the descendants of so many nations who have settled among them—it is easy to conceive that their present political condition, bringing up, instruction, and mode of thought may have an influence even on their conformation. Notwithstanding all these unfavorable conditions, the Greek race of the present day is still celebrated for its beauty; on this point all observant travellers agree; and the nearer we draw to the climate of Greece, the more beautiful, lofty, and vigorous is the conformation of man.

10. For this reason, we seldom find in the fairest portions of Italy the features of the face unfinished, vague, and inexpressive, as it is frequently the case on the other side of the Alps; but they have partly an air of nobleness, partly of acuteness and intelligence; and the form of the face is generally large and full, and the parts of it in harmony with each other. The superiority of conformation is so manifest, that the head of the humblest man among the people might be introduced in the most dignified historical painting, especially one in which aged men are to be represented. And among the women of this class, even in places of the least importance, it would not be difficult to find a Juno. The lower portion of Italy, which enjoys a softer climate than any other part of it, brings forth men of superb and vigorously designed forms, which appear to have been made, as it were, for the purposes of sculpture. The large stature of the inhabitants of this section must be apparent to every one; and the fine development and robustness of their frames may be most easily seen in the half-naked sailors, fishermen, and others whose occupation is by the sea; and precisely from that circumstance might seem to have originated the fable of the mighty Titans contending with the Gods in the Phlegrean Fields, — which are near Pozzuoli, in the vicinity of Naples. It is asserted that, in Sicily, the handsomest women of the island are found, even at the present day, in ancient Eryx, where the celebrated temple of Venus was situated.

11. He who has never visited these countries can form his own conclusions as to the intellectual or-

ganization of their inhabitants, by observing that their acuteness increases as the climate grows warmer. The Neapolitans are still more acute and artful than the Romans; the Sicilians are more so than the Neapolitans; but the Greeks surpass even the Sicilians. Between Rome and Athens there is probably a difference of about one month in the warmth of the season and in the ripening of the fruits,—as the cutting of the honey out of the hives proves; for in the latter place it would happen about the solstice in June; but in the former, on the festival of Vulcan, or in the month of August. In fine, what Cicero says is true here, that “intellects are more acute, the purer and more subtile the air”; for the same disposition seems to prevail with man as with flowers, whose fragrance increases in proportion to the dryness of the soil, and the warmth of the climate.

12. Consequently, that noble beauty which consists not merely in a soft skin, a brilliant complexion, wanton or languishing eyes, but in the shape and form, is found more frequently in countries which enjoy a climate of uniform mildness. If, therefore, the Italians alone know how to paint and figure beauty, as an English author of rank says, the beautiful conformation of the people themselves is, in a measure, the ground of their capability, which the daily view and study of beauty can produce more readily here than elsewhere. Beauty, however, was not a general quality, even among the Greeks, and Cotta in Cicero says that, among the great numbers of young persons at Athens, there were only a few possessing true beauty.

13. The most beautiful race among the Greeks, especially in regard to complexion, must have been beneath the skies of Ionia, in Asia Minor, according to the testimony of Hippocrates and Lucian; and another writer, in order to express manly beauty with one word, terms it Ionic. This province is also productive, even at the present day, in beautiful conformations, as appears from the statement of an observant traveller of the sixteenth century, who finds himself unable to extol sufficiently the beauty of the women there, their soft and milk-white skin, and fresh and healthful color. For in this land, on account of its situation, and in the islands of the Archipelago, the sky is much clearer, and the temperature — which is intermediate between warm and cold — more constant and uniform, than it is even in Greece, especially in those parts of it lying on the sea, which are very much exposed to the sultry wind from Africa, like all the southern coast of Italy, and other lands which lie opposite to the hot tract in Africa. This wind, which the Greeks termed *λίψ*, and the Romans *Africus*, and which is now known as the Sirocco, obscures and darkens the air with hot, oppressive vapors, makes it unwholesome, and debilitates all nature, man, beast, and plant. When it prevails, digestion is retarded; and both mind and body are listless and unable to work; hence it is very easy to conceive how great influence this wind may have on the beauty of the skin and complexion. In those who dwell the nearest to the sea-coast it produces a dull and yellowish color, which is more common with the Neapolitans, especially those of the capital, on

account of its narrow streets and lofty houses, than among those who dwell more inland. The same complexion may be seen in the inhabitants of places on the coast of the Mediterranean Sea, in the States of the Church, at Terracina, Nettuno, Ostia, and towns similarly situated. But the marshes — which, in Italy, generate a foul and deadly vapor — cannot possibly have produced in Greece any noxious emanations; for Ambracia, which was a very well-built and celebrated city, lay in the midst of marshes, and had only a single avenue by which it could be entered.

14. The proof, easy to be understood, of the superiority of shape of the Greeks and the present inhabitants of the Levant, lies in the fact that we find among them no flattened noses, which are the greatest disfigurement of the face. Scaliger seems to have observed that the Jews also have no sunken noses; indeed, the Portuguese Jews must generally have hawk-noses; hence, a nose of this kind is termed in Portugal a Jewish nose. Vesalius has noted that the heads of the Greeks and Turks are of a handsomer oval than those of the Germans and Dutch. It is also to be taken into consideration, that the small-pox is a less dangerous disease in warm countries than in cold, where it is epidemic, and as destructive as the plague. For this reason, scarcely ten persons out of a thousand are found, in Italy, marked with a few faint traces of this disease; but to the ancient Greeks it was unknown. We are authorized to draw this conclusion from the silence of the ancient Greek physician, Hippocrates, and of Galen, his commentator, in regard to it, since

they neither allude to it nor prescribe any directions as to the manner of treating it. There is also, of the infinite number of persons of whose faces we have a description, not one who is characterized as pock-marked, an appearance which would have furnished an occasion for laughable jests, especially to an Aristophanes and a Plautus. But the special proof that this destructive, fatal poison did not in ancient times display its virulence on the human race, is afforded by the language itself of Greece, for it contains no word which signifies small-pox.

15. At the same time that I acknowledge the superiority of warmer countries in the more general diffusion of beauty of conformation, I do not therefore deny beauty of shape to colder climates; I know persons, even of low station, on the other side of the Alps, in whom Nature has executed her work with the utmost perfection and beauty; inso-much, that their development and shape might compare, not only with the handsomest men of those countries, but have served the Greek artists as models, not less in single parts than in the whole body, even for their most lovely and majestic figures.

16. In the second place, the influence of climate on the mode of thought of a people — with which external circumstances, especially education, the form of government, and the manner of administering it, co-operate — is just as perceptible and conceivable as the influence of the same cause on the conformation.

17. The mode of thought, as well of Oriental and Southern nations as of the Greeks, is manifested even in works of art. The figurative expressions of the



former are as warm and ardent as the climate in which they dwell, and the flight of their thoughts frequently exceeds the limits of possibility. Hence, these are the brains which conceived the strange figures of the Egyptians and Persians, which united in one form creatures of totally different natures and kinds: and the aim of their artists was rather to produce the extraordinary than the beautiful.

18. The Greeks, on the contrary, lived under a more temperate climate and a milder rule, and inhabited a land "which Pallas," it is said, "assigned to them for their occupancy, as preferable to all others on account of the moderateness of its seasons"; and as their language is picturesque, so also were their conceptions and images. Their poets, from the time of Homer downward, not only speak through figures, but they produce and also paint images which frequently lie in a single word, and which have been drawn and sketched, as it were in living colors, by the sound of that word. Their imagination was not exaggerated like that of the Oriental and Southern nations; and their senses, acting upon a brain of delicate structure through the medium of quick and sensitive nerves, discovered instantly the several qualities of an object, and occupied themselves especially in considering the beauty contained in it.

19. After the migration of the Greeks into Asia Minor, their language became richer in vowels, and consequently softer and more musical, because they enjoyed a still happier climate than the other Greeks. This was the climate that awakened and inspired their earliest poets; on this soil Greek philosophy

was formed; here was the birthplace of their earliest historians; and here, beneath the voluptuous skies of this land, Apelles, *the painter of the Graces*, was born. But as they were too feeble to defend their freedom against the power of their neighbors, the Persians, they were unable to erect themselves into powerful free states, like the Athenians; and, consequently, the arts and sciences could not have their most distinguished seat in Ionic Asia.

20. But in Athens, where, after the expulsion of the tyrants, a democratic form of government was adopted, in which the entire people had a share, the spirit of each citizen became loftier than that of the other Greeks, and the city itself surpassed all other cities. As good taste was now generally diffused, and wealthy burghers sought to gain the respect and love of their fellow-citizens by erecting splendid public buildings and by works of art, and thus prepare the way to distinction, everything flowed into this city, in consequence of its power and greatness, even as rivers flow towards the sea. Here the arts and sciences established themselves; here they formed their principal residence; and hence they went abroad into other lands. We may find proof that the causes just mentioned will account for the progress of the arts in Athens, in a similar state of things at Florence, where, after a long interval of darkness, the arts and sciences began, in modern times, to be relumined.

21. We must, therefore, in judging of the natural capacity of nations, and of the Greeks especially, in this respect, take into consideration, not merely the influence of climate alone, but also that of education

and government. For external circumstances effect not less change in us than does the air by which we are surrounded, and custom has so much power over us that it modifies in a peculiar manner even the body, and the very senses with which we are endowed by nature; thus, for instance, an ear accustomed to French music is not affected by the most touching Italian symphony.

22. The same cause accounts for the difference, even among the Greeks themselves, noticed by Polybius, in regard to their valor and mode of warfare. The Thessalians were good warriors when they could attack with small bands; but in regular battle-array, they soon gave way. The reverse was the case with the Ætolians. The natives of Crete were excellent beyond comparison in ambush, or on expeditions where craft was required, or in doing an enemy damage in other ways; but they were of no use in emergencies that must be decided by valor alone; the Achæans and Macedonians, on the other hand, displayed qualities that were the reverse of these. All the Arcadians were obliged, by the earliest laws of their country, to learn music, and to practise it continually until they were thirty years of age, in order that a soft and loving character might be given to their dispositions and manners, — which the rude climate of their mountainous land tended to make morose and fierce; and for this reason they were the most honest and the best-mannered men in Greece. The inhabitants of Cynæthium, who alone departed from this regulation, and would not learn and practise music, fell back again into natural wildness, and were held in detestation by all Greece.

23. In lands where some remnant of former freedom co-operates with the influence of climate, the present manner of thinking is very similar to the past. An illustration of my remark is now seen in Rome, where the people, under a priestly rule, enjoy unrestrained freedom. Even at the present day, a band of the most valiant and intrepid warriors might be collected from the midst of them, who, like their forefathers, would bid defiance to death. The women of the common people, with morals less corrupt than those of the ancient Roman women, still display the same courage and spirit, — as I could prove by some remarkable traits, if the design of my work permitted it.

24. The pre-eminent talent of the Greeks for art still shows itself, in modern days, in the great and almost general talent of the inhabitants of the warmest portions of Italy; and in this admirable capacity for art the imagination predominates, just as reason predominates over the imagination among the sober-minded Britons. Some one has remarked, not without reason, that the poets on the other side of the mountains speak through images, but afford few pictures. It must even be confessed, that the astonishing, partly fearful pictures, in which Milton's greatness consists, cannot be the subjects of a noble pencil, but are absolutely unfit to be painted. Milton's descriptions, with the single exception of his picture of Love in Paradise, are like Gorgons beautifully painted, similar to each other, and similarly terrible. The images of many other poets are great to the ear, but small to the understanding. In Homer, everything is painted, and devised and creat-

ed to be painted. The warmer the region is in Italy, the greater are the talents to which it gives birth, and the more ardent the imagination; and the works of the Sicilian poets are full of rare, new, and unexpected images. This glowing imagination, however, is not of a stimulated and vehement nature: like the temperament of the inhabitants, and the temperature of the country, it is more uniform than in colder climates; for nature bestows a happy dulness of disposition more frequently on the inhabitants of the latter than of the former.

25. When I speak of the natural capacity, generally, of these nations for art, I do not thereby mean to deny the same capacity to individuals in countries on the other side of the mountains, because experience furnishes striking proofs to the contrary. For Holbein and Albert Dürer, the fathers of art in Germany, have exhibited astonishing talent in it; and if it had been in their power to study and imitate the works of the ancients, like Raphael, Correggio, and Titian, they would have been equally as great as these; they might, perhaps, have surpassed them. Even Correggio did not attain his greatness without some knowledge of antiquity, — though it is generally said that he did, — for his master, Andreas Mantegna, was acquainted with it; and some of his drawings from antique statues are found in the great collection of drawings which passed from the museum of the Cardinal Alexander Albani into that of the king of England. In view of the knowledge which he had of antiquity, Felicianus addressed to him the dedication of a collection of antique inscriptions. But in this notice Mantegna was entirely unknown to the

elder Burmann (2). Whether the scarcity of painters among the English, who cannot produce from the past a single one of celebrity, and among the French, who, with the exception of two, are in a similar condition, notwithstanding their great outlays, proceeds from the causes enumerated, I leave to the decision of others.

26. Meanwhile, by communicating to the reader these general notices on art, and the grounds of its differing in the countries in which it was once practised, and is still practised, I believe that I have prepared him for the discussion on art in each of the three nations which have been celebrated for it.



HISTORY OF ANCIENT ART.

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BOOK II.

ART AMONG THE EGYPTIANS, PHENICIANS, AND  
PERSIANS.



# HISTORY OF ANCIENT ART.

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## BOOK II.

### ART AMONG THE EGYPTIANS, PHENICIANS, AND PERSIANS.

#### CHAPTER I.

##### *Causes of the Peculiar Character of Egyptian Art.*

1. THE Egyptians have not departed much from their earliest style of art; and it could not easily reach the height to which it arrived among the Greeks. The cause may be found partly in the conformation of their bodies; partly in their mode of thought; and not less in their customs and laws, especially those of a religious character; and also in the science of their artists, and the estimation in which they were held. This will be the subject of the first part of this division. The second treats of the original style of their art; that is, of the drawing of the nude figure, and drapery of their earlier figures. The third examines the later style, as well as the imitations of the Egyptian manner executed by Greeks and Romans. The fourth treats of the mechanical part, or the execution, of Egyptian art and works of art, and, in addition to wood and

bronze, of the different kinds of stone of which the Egyptians made use.

Of the causes which impressed a peculiar character upon the art of the Egyptians, the first lies in the fact of their conformation; it did not possess those excellences that could stimulate the artist by ideas of high beauty. Though Nature had made the Egyptian women remarkably prolific, she had, in regard to conformation, been less kind to them than to the Greeks and the Etruscans. In proof of this, statues, obelisks, and engraved gems show that the form peculiar to them somewhat resembled that of the Chinese (1); and *Æschylus* says that the Egyptians were, in their shape, different from the Greeks (2).

2. Their artists, therefore, could not seek variety, because it had no existence. In the steady, uniform climate of this land, Nature did not deviate from her extreme conformation; for as in all things, so also here, she departs from an extreme more reluctantly than from a mean. The very same conformation which Egyptian statues have is observed in the heads of the figures painted on mummies, which, as also with the Ethiopians, were probably accurate likenesses of the deceased; for the Egyptians, in the preparation of the dead body, sought to retain everything, even the hairs of the eyelids, which would render it of easy recognition. It is probable that the custom among the Ethiopians of painting the figure of the dead upon their bodies was also derived from the Egyptians; for during the reign of *Psammetichus*, two hundred and forty thousand persons went from Egypt into Ethiopia, where they introduced their national manners and usages (3). However, as eigh-

teen Ethiopian kings, whose reign occurs in the earliest periods of the country, had ruled in Egypt, the usage of which we speak may have been made by them common to both people.

3. The Egyptians were, besides, of a dark brown complexion, the same which has been given to the heads on painted mummies (4), and hence the word *αἰγύπτιασαι* signifies "to be burnt by the sun." Now as the faces of the mummies have one and the same color, there is no ground for the assertion made by Alexander Gordon, who maintains that the complexion differed in different provinces.

4. But when Martial expresses a desire for a beautiful boy from Egypt, for sensual purposes, he is to be understood as meaning a boy, not of Egyptian, but of Greek parentage, as the dissolute morals of the youth in that country, and especially of those at Alexandria, are well known (5). The poet, however, adds, that a fair face out of this land of brown skins, *in Mareotide Fusca*, is the more highly to be prized in proportion to its rarity. The celebrated pantomime, Apolaustus, of Memphis, in Egypt, whom Lucius Verus took with him to Rome, and whose remembrance is preserved in several inscriptions, was a Greek of this kind.

5. An attempt has been made, on the authority of a passage in Aristotle, to show that the leg-bone of the Egyptians bowed outwardly. Those who bordered on the Ethiopians probably had, like them, sunken noses; and the Egyptian female figures, however narrow they may be across the hips, have excessively large breasts. Now, as the Egyptian artists imitated nature just as they found it, — according to

the testimony of a Church Father, — we might certainly draw a conclusion from their figures as to the female sex in their country. The conformation of the Egyptians is far from being incompatible with a sound state of health, which the inhabitants of Upper Egypt in particular, according to Herodotus, enjoyed far above other nations; and the same conclusion may also be drawn from the circumstance, that, in the countless heads of Egyptian mummies seen by Prince Radzivil, not a tooth was wanting, not even corroded. Moreover, we may find in the mummy at Bologna, mentioned above, proof of what Pausanias has stated in regard to their extraordinary size, since he says that he has seen Celts who were as large as the dead bodies of the Egyptians; and his statement is confirmed by the unusual length of this mummy, which measures eleven Roman palms (that is, eight feet and eight inches English).

6. In the second place, in regard to the disposition and manner of thinking of the Egyptians, they do not appear to have been inclined to pleasure and gayety; for music — by which the earliest Greeks strove to render the laws themselves more acceptable, and in which contests were instituted, even prior to the age of Homer — was not especially cultivated in Egypt; it is, indeed, asserted that it was prohibited; and the same is said also of poetry (6). According to Strabo, no instrument was played either in their temples or at their sacrifices. But this does not exclude music among the Egyptians generally; or it must be understood only of the earliest periods (7); for we know that women conducted Apis with music



to the banks of the Nile; and Egyptians are represented playing on instruments, both in the mosaic of the temple of Fortune at Palestrina, and in two Herculaneum paintings.

7. As a consequence of this turn of mind, the Egyptians sought to excite their imaginations and exhilarate their minds by violent means; and their thoughts passed beyond the natural, and were occupied with the mysterious. Hence, the melancholy of this nation produced the first eremites (8); and a modern writer pretends to have discovered somewhere, that, at the close of the fourth century, there were seventy thousand monks in Lower Egypt alone (9). Another consequence of this temper of mind was, that the Egyptians were willing to be governed by severe laws, and positively could not exist without a king; this is probably the reason why Egypt is termed by Homer *bitter* Egypt.

8. In their usages and religious forms, the Egyptians insisted upon a strict observance of the primitive ordinances, even under the Roman emperors, — not only in Upper Egypt, but also at Alexandria itself; for as late as the time of the Emperor Adrian, an insurrection broke out because no ox could be found to represent the god Apis; indeed, the enmity of one city towards another, on account of their deities, was still fresh at that time. The assertion of a few modern authors, — on testimony falsely attributed to Herodotus and Diodorus, — that the religious ceremonial of the Egyptians, and their custom of embalming the dead, had been utterly and for ever abolished by Cambyses, is so untrue, that even the Greeks, at a later date than this, allowed their own

dead to be prepared after the Egyptian manner, as I have shown elsewhere, by that mummy with the word *CT + XXI* on its breast (10), which was formerly in the Della Valle mansion at Rome, and is at present among the antiquities in Dresden. Now, as the Egyptians, under the successors of Cambyses, revolted more than once, and elected kings from among themselves, who, by the aid of the Greeks, were enabled to maintain their authority for some time, it is probable that, during these intervals, they also returned back to their former custom.

9. That the Egyptians, under the Cæsars, still adhered to their ancient religious forms, even the statues of Antinoüs may testify; two of them stand at Tivoli, and one in the Capitoline museum, and they are shaped after the manner of Egyptian statues, and have the form under which he was worshipped in this country, especially in the city where he lay buried, which, from him, received the name Antinoëa. A figure in marble resembling the Capitoline, and, like it, somewhat larger than life, but without its proper head, is in the garden of the Barberini palace, and a third, about three palms (2 ft. 2 in. Eng.) in height, is in the Borghese villa; these have the stiff attitude, with the arms hanging perpendicularly by the sides, which belongs to the most ancient Egyptian figures. We see, therefore, that Adrian was obliged to give to the image of Antinoüs, in order that he might become to the Egyptians an object of reverence, a shape that was pleasing to them, and the only one which was popular (11).

10. The abhorrence felt by the Egyptians for Grecian customs — especially before they fell under the

sovereignty of the Greeks — strengthened them in their religious use of the form which they had anciently adopted for the images of their worship; and this feeling, necessarily, would make their artists very indifferent to the art of other nations; and, consequently, would check the progress of knowledge as well as of art. As their physicians durst prescribe no other remedies than those recorded in the sacred books, so their artists were not permitted to deviate from the ancient style; for their laws allowed no further scope to the mind than mere imitation of their forefathers, and prohibited all innovations. Hence, as Plato informs us, statues which had been executed in his time in Egypt did not differ, either in shape or in any other respect, from those which were more than a thousand years old. He is, however, to be understood as speaking of works which were wrought by native artists prior to the era of Greek rule in Egypt. The observance of this law could not be violated, because it, like the entire constitution of the Egyptian form of government, was based on their very religion. For, among the Egyptians, the art of forming figures in human shape seems to have been restricted to their deities, the kings with their families, and the priests, — with the exception of the figures which were carved on public edifices; that is to say, to a single kind of images (12). But the gods of the Egyptians were kings by whom the country had been governed at some previous time, or at least they were regarded as deities; so too the earliest kings were priests; and if statues were erected to any other persons, no one certainly knows the fact, and no writer even mentions it.

11. Finally, one of the causes concurring to produce that condition of art in Egypt which I have noticed lies in the estimation and knowledge of their artists, who were viewed in the light of artisans, and were classed in the lowest rank. No one, from natural inclination, or especial impulse, selected art as his pursuit, but the son followed, as in all crafts and professions, the mode of life of his father, and set his foot in the tracks of his predecessor, so that no one appears to have left a footprint which strictly could be called his own. Consequently, there cannot have been different schools of art in Egypt, as there were in Greece. In such a system of government neither the education nor the circumstances of artists could be of a kind that was able to elevate their minds to venture up the heights of art; there were, also, neither privileges nor honors to be expected when they had produced anything extraordinary. Hence the word image-cutter applies to the artists of the Egyptian statues in its proper signification; they chiselled out their figures after an established measure and form, and therefore the law not to depart therefrom was probably not a harsh law to them. The name of only one Egyptian sculptor has been preserved under a Greek pronunciation; he was called Memnon, and had made three statues at the entrance of a temple in Thebes, one of which was the largest in Egypt.

12. In regard to science, Egyptian artists must of necessity have been deficient in one of the most important points of art, namely, in knowledge of anatomy,—a science which was not only uncultivated in Egypt, as in China, but was also unknown. Re-

spect for the dead would by no means have allowed the dissection of a body to be made; indeed, as we are informed by Diodorus, it was regarded as homicide to make merely an incision into it. Hence even the Paraschistes, as the Greeks termed him, or he who opened the body by an incision into the side preparatory for embalming, was obliged to flee immediately from the spot after the performance of his duty, in order to save himself from the relatives of the deceased, and from others, by-standers, who followed him with curses and stones. The slight knowledge of the Egyptian artists in anatomy shows itself, in fact, not only in the incorrect rendering of some few parts, but it might also be inferred from the feeble markings of the muscles and bones. In Egypt, anatomy did not extend beyond the internal parts or entrails; and even this limited knowledge, which was transmitted from father to son in the guild of this class of persons, probably remained a secret to others; for in the preparation of the dead body, no one was present but them.

## CHAPTER II.

### *Primitive Style of Egyptian Art.*

1. THE second portion of this section treats of the ancient primitive style of Egyptian art, and includes the drawing of the nude figure, and the clothing of figures in conformity to it. Considered generally, three varieties, manners, or styles are observable; — the antique style just mentioned; the later style; and, finally, that of imitations of Egyptian works, which were probably executed by Greek artists. I will endeavor to show presently, that the genuine antique Egyptian works are twofold in kind, and that, in their own art, there are two distinct eras. The first lasted until the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses, and the second as long as native Egyptians under Persian, and afterwards under Greek sovereignty, practised sculpture; but most of the imitations were probably executed during the reign of the Emperor Adrian.

2. In the more ancient style, the drawing of the nude figure has distinct and intelligible characteristics, which distinguish it, not only from the drawing of other nations, but also from their own later style. These qualities exist, and are to be defined, not only in the outline of the whole figure, but also in the drawing and conformation of each particular part.



3. The general and principal characteristic of the drawing of the nude figure in this style is that of forming the contour of it by straight or nearly straight lines, — an attribute which belongs also to their architecture, and their embellishments. Hence on the one hand the Graces — divinities unknown to the Egyptians — are wanting in Egyptian figures; and on the other, the picturesque; both of which deficiencies Strabo infers from a temple at Memphis. The attitude of the figures is stiff and constrained; but feet, placed parallel and close together, — which a few ancient writers apparently indicate as a universal mark of distinction of Egyptian figures, and which exist in the earliest Etruscan figures of bronze, — are found only in seated figures. Feet which are of genuine antiquity stand parallel, and not outwards; but, like produced parallel lines, one is extended before the other. In a male figure fourteen palms (10.3 ft. Eng.) in height, in the Albani villa, the distance between the two feet is more than three palms (2.2 ft. Eng.). The arms of male figures hang straight down along the sides, to which they are united, as if firmly pressed towards them; consequently such figures have no action at all, — action being expressed principally through the movement of the arms and hands. The motionless state of these parts is no proof of a want of skill in the artists, but of a rule established and adopted in statues, according to which they must be executed after one and the same model; for action, which they have given to their figures, is seen on obelisks and other works; and probably some statues also have had the hands free, as we might infer from that one which represented a king

holding a mouse in his hand, unless it was a seated, and not a standing figure. Of female figures only the right arm hangs confined to the side; the left lies across the body below the breast; but both arms hang down of those figures which stand in front near the seat of the statue of Memnon. Several figures are sitting with their legs crossed under them, or kneeling on one knee, and for this reason might be termed *Engonases*: in this position were the three *Dii Nixi*, placed before the three chapels of the Olympian Jupiter at Rome.

4. In the great simplicity of drawing of the Egyptian figures, the bones and muscles are slightly marked; the nerves and veins, on the other hand, are not rendered at all; the knees, the ankles, and a marking of the elbow, however, are prominently shown, as in nature; the back is not visible, on account of the pillar against which their statues are placed, and with which they form one piece. The slightly curving outlines of their figures are, likewise, one cause of the narrowness and contraction of their shapes,—terms by which Petronius characterizes the Egyptian style of art. Egyptian figures, especially of the male sex, are also distinguished by the unusual smallness of the body above the hips.

5. The foregoing characters and distinguishing marks of the Egyptian style, namely, the contour and the forms, defined by nearly straight lines, and the slight marking of the bones and muscles, have an exception in the animals of Egyptian art. Among these are to be particularly noticed a large Sphinx of basalt in the Borghese villa, two lions on the as-











cent to the Campidoglio,\* and two others at the Fontana Felice; for they are executed with much understanding, an elegant variety of softly deviating outlines and flowingly unbroken parts (1). The great trochanters, below the hips, which in human figures are passed over undefined, are, together with the bone of the thigh, and other bones, executed in wild beasts with an expressive elegance. And yet the lions by the above-mentioned Fountain are marked with hieroglyphics, which are not found on the other animals named, and show plain indications of being genuine Egyptian works; the Sphinxes by the obelisk of the sun, which lies in the Campus Martius, are in precisely the same style, and the heads evince great skill and much labor. †

6. From this difference of style in human figures and the figures of animals, we may conclude that, as the former represent divinities, or persons consecrated to divinities, — among whom I also include kings, in accordance with what I have remarked above, — the conformation of them had been universally determined by the religion of the country, but that, in the formation of animals, the artists were allowed more license for the display of their skill. We may imagine the system of art in Egypt, in regard to the human figure, like the form of government at Crete and Sparta, where it was not allowable to deviate, even by a finger's breadth, from the institutions of their lawgivers; but the figures of animals were not included under this law.

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\* Plates III. and IV.

† Plate V. The head of the one given in the plate is more beautifully and carefully executed than that of the other. — FEA.

7. In the second place, the extremities, that is, the head, hands, and feet, are the principal points of examination in the drawing of the nude figure.

In the head, the eyes are drawn flat and oblique, and are placed, not deeply, as in Greek statues, but almost on a level with the forehead, so that the upper margin of the orbit, on which the eyebrows are denoted by a sharp prominence, is flat. For in Egyptian figures — the forms of which, though possessing much that is ideal, have no ideal beauty — the artist did not succeed in attaining the ideal and in imparting majesty to this part of the face; the Greeks sought and obtained it by setting the ball of the eye more deeply, thus producing more light and shadow, and consequently stronger effect, — as I will show hereafter more fully. The eyebrows, the eyelids, and the edge of the lips, are generally denoted by incised lines. The eyebrows of one of the most ancient female heads, larger than life, of greenish basalt, in the Albani villa, which has excavated eyes, are delineated by a raised flat band, of the breadth of the nail on the little finger; this band extends even to the temples, where it is cut off at an angle. From the lower part of the socket of the eye, a similar band runs in precisely the same way to the same place, where it terminates in a similar manner. The Egyptians had no knowledge of the soft profile of Greek heads, but the depression of the nose is the same as in nature. The check-bones are strongly marked and prominent; the chin is always somewhat small, and receding, whereby the oval of the face becomes imperfect. The section of the mouth, or the meeting of the lips, which, in nature, at least





in Greeks and Europeans, is drawn rather downwards towards the corners of the mouth, is, on the contrary, in Egyptian heads drawn upwards; and the mouth is always closed in such a manner that the lips are separated from each other only by a simple incision; whereas the lips of the greater number of Greek divinities are, on the contrary, opened, — as I shall notice hereafter. But the most extraordinary part of Egyptian conformation would be the ears, provided they were really situated so high on the head as they are seen on the greater number of Egyptian figures (2), and, among others, on the two heads in my own possession. But they are placed the highest — so high, indeed, that the lobe of the ear is almost in the same line with the eyes — on a head with inserted eyes, in the Albani villa, and on the seated figure below the point of the Barberini obelisk.

8. The hands have that form which we find in those who have injured or neglected hands not badly shaped. The feet differ from the feet of Greek figures in being flatter and broader, and by a slight diminution in the length of the toes, which lie perfectly flat, and, like the fingers, have no markings of the joints. Even the little toe is not crooked, nor pressed inwards, as is the case with Greek feet; consequently it is probable that the feet of Memnon also have neither the position nor shape with which Poccocke allowed them to be drawn. The nails are indicated only by angular incisions, and have neither roundness nor convexity.

9. The feet of the Egyptian statues in the Campidoglio — in those instances in which they have been

preserved — are, even as in the Apollo Belvedere and the Laocoön, of unequal length; the supporting right foot of one of them is about three inches of a Roman palm (2.2 in. Eng.) longer than the other. But this inequality is not without reason; for it was the intention to give to the foot which stands farther removed from the spectator just as much as it might seem to lose by being withdrawn (3).

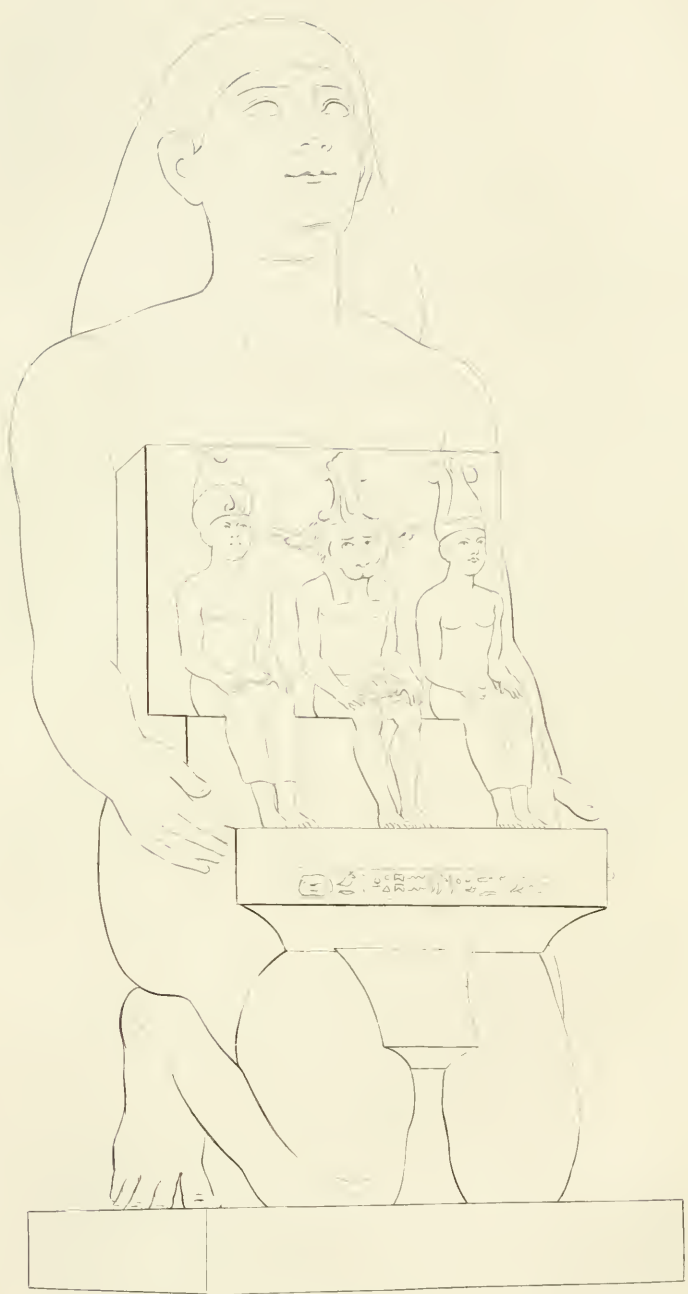
The navel, both of men and women, is unusually deep and hollow.

10. By means of the foregoing characteristics of art among this people, it is possible to distinguish each single fragment of a statue, and say whether it is Egyptian or Grecian. A sculptor showed me the thigh, together with the knee of a kneeling figure in greenish basalt, as an Egyptian work; but I proved to him, by pointing out the markings of the bones and cartilages of the knee, that it was a Greek production, in despite of the Egyptian stone. The figures in a few Herculaneum paintings may also serve to elucidate that passage of Petronius where he speaks of the creeping in of the Egyptian style of art.

I here repeat a remark, which has been stated generally in the Preface, that it is impossible to form an opinion from engravings; for in the figures in Boissard, Kircher, and Montfaucon, there is not found a single one of the assigned characters of the Egyptian style. It is, moreover, necessary to observe closely what parts of Egyptian statues are really antique, and what are restorations. The lower portion of the face of the supposed Isis in the Campidoglio, which, among the four largest statues there,







is the only one of black granite, is not antique, but a modern addition; the arms and the legs of this statue, and of the two others, of red granite, are also restorations. I mention these restorations particularly, because they are not very apparent. On the other hand, I omit those additions which every one can easily detect; as, for example, the modern head of a female figure in the Barberini palace, — holding in front of herself a small Anubis in a box, after the manner of a male figure in Kircher,\* — or the legs of a smaller standing figure in the Borghese villa (†).

11. Any comments which I might have to make, for the instruction of those who study art, on the singular shape of the figures of Egyptian divinities, and on the attributes assigned to them, should follow, most appropriately in this place, the preceding observations on the drawing of the nude figure. But as this topic has been handled to excess by others, I will confine myself here to some special remarks.

12. Few statues of the divinities to which were given the heads of animals in whose forms they were revered by the Egyptians have been preserved; and I believe that only the following are to be found in Rome. The first in the Barberini palace, with the head of a sparrow-hawk, represents Osiris; and the head of this bird is intended, in the figure of Osiris, to typify the Greek Apollo; but according to Homer, the sparrow-hawk was peculiar to the latter, and his messenger, because he is able to gaze at the sun without blinking. The second statue, in

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\* Plate VI.

the Albani villa, of similar size, with a head which partakes of a lion, a cat, and a dog, is an image of Anubis (5), in whose shape, likewise, there was a mixture of that of the lion, which animal also was revered. The third is a small seated figure with a dog's head, in the same villa; the fourth, of precisely the same conformation, is in the Barberini palace; and the fifth, with the head of a cat, is in the Borghese villa. The first four statues are of blackish granite.

13. The head of the second of these figures is covered, on its back part, with the customary Egyptian cap, which, laid in many folds, hangs down in front of a roundish shape, and behind over the shoulders two palms (1 ft. 5 in. Eng.) in length; and on the head, behind, there rises up a round disc, which, if not intended to typify the sun or moon, may be regarded as a Nimbus, so called, which was afterwards given to the images of the deities among the Greeks and Romans and the emperors. Among the Herculaneum paintings, there is a remarkable one of an Osiris, on a black ground, of which the face, arms, and feet have a blue color. A symbolic meaning probably lies concealed herein, since we know that the Egyptians gave to the image of the sun, or to Osiris, more than one color; and blue was intended to denote the sun when it is below our hemisphere. The Anubis of white marble, in the Campidoglio, is a work, not of Egyptian art, but of the age of the Emperor Adrian.

14. Strabo — not Diodorus, as Pococke states — relates of a temple at Thebes, that no human figures, but merely those of animals, were placed in

it, and Pococke pretends to have made the same observation in regard to other temples, preserved there. The statement in Strabo seems to be the ground on which Warburton holds the figures of the Egyptian divinities with the heads of animals to be more ancient than those which are wholly human. Egyptian figures, however, seemingly divinities from the emblems given to them, are now found represented in a form completely human, in greater numbers, than with the heads of animals; — of this, one proof, among others, is the well-known Isic Tablet in the museum of the king of Sardinia; — and the statues in which the human form is not disfigured appear to have precisely the same antiquity as those of the other kind. It is impossible to ascribe a less antiquity to the two large female statues in the Capitoline museum; they are probably images of Isis, although they have no horns on the head (6), which on her denote the waxing and waning of the moon, as shown by a bronze figure of her in the oldest Egyptian style, which has been published in my *Ancient Monuments*. These statues cannot be the statues of priestesses of this goddess, because no woman filled the sacerdotal office in Egypt. The male figures in the same place may even be statues of kings or of high-priests, since they have none of the distinguishing marks of a deity; for statues of the latter stood at Thebes. Of the wings of Egyptian deities, I shall speak in the third chapter of this second book. It may likewise be remarked here, that the Sistrum is not placed in the hand of any figure on any ancient Egyptian work whatever in Rome (7); in fact, this instrument

is not seen represented at all on them, except on the border of the Isic Tablet; and they mistake, who, like Bianchini, think that they have found it on more than one obelisk, — a remark which I have already made in another place. The staves in the hands of the male figures generally have, instead of a knob, a bird's head, — which may be seen most distinctly in the case of the seated figures on both sides of a large tablet of red granite, in the garden of the Barberini palace; and also of those which are cut in the obelisk, near to its point. These staves Diodorus seems to have looked upon as ploughs, for he says that the figures of Egyptian kings held a plough; but it is a staff surmounted by the head of a bird. This bird is either the one which the inhabitants of Egypt termed Aboukirdan, of about the size of a small crane, or it is the bird *Epos* (Hoopoe) of the Greeks, named by the Romans *Upupa*. But here the question arises, What resemblance has this wand to a plough, and how is it possible for Diodorus to have confounded one with the other? In order to explain this, we must suppose that the meaning given to the afore-mentioned staves was an invention of his own, inasmuch as he viewed them at a distance, on the top of the obelisks, and not near by, as it can be done in Rome, where three of them are lying on the ground. As with Diodorus, so it has been with the learned Bianchini, who explains a staff of this kind, in the hand of the figure on the apex of the Flaminian obelisk, in the Piazza del Popolo, according to the account given by this historian. The ancients had two kinds of ploughs; one of them, like our own, consisted



of many pieces, and was called ἄροτρον πηκτόν; the other, named ἀυτόγυον, was made of a single piece; that is to say, the posterior part — forming the elbow, named γυίη by some, and ἐχέτλη by others, and to the under part of which the share is attached — was of one solid piece with the beam by which the oxen draw. This is the kind of plough with which the hero Echetus is represented on many Etruscan sepulchral urns, hitherto unexplained, fighting at Marathon against the Persians. The bird-headed staff in the hand of the kings on Egyptian monuments, when viewed at a distance, has great resemblance to such a plough; and this similarity probably explains why Diodorus mistook one for the other. The Greeks also carried staves, of which the top was ornamented by birds. Among the Assyrians, according to Herodotus, an apple, a rose, a lily, an eagle, or a figure of some kind, was carved on the head of them. The eagle, therefore, on the head of Jupiter's staff, described by Pindar, and as it is seen on a beautiful altar in the Albani villa, is derived from a common custom.

15. We learn from Porphyry, on the authority of Numenius, that the Egyptian deities stand, not on the solid earth, but on a ship; and that not only the sun, but all souls, according to the doctrine of the Egyptians, float on the fluid element. The author cited has sought to illustrate by this conception the “moving of the Spirit of God upon the waters,” in the Mosaic account of the creation. In a similar manner, Thales maintained that the earth rests like a ship upon the water. There are a few monuments in which this belief has been expressed. In the La-

dovisi villa stands a small Isis, in marble, with her left foot on a vessel; and on two round bases in the Mattei villa, presenting a picture of the Egyptian religious rites adopted by the Romans, is a figure which stands with both feet on a boat. But a still closer approximation to this doctrine of the Egyptians is found in a picture painted on a vessel of terra-cotta in the Vatican library. It represents the sun, together with a personified figure of the moon, standing on a car drawn by four horses, and the whole borne on a ship. This painting has been published in my *Ancient Monuments*.

16. The Sphinxes of the Egyptians are of both sexes; that is to say, they are female in their front parts, with a female head, and male behind, where the testicles are seen. This has hitherto remained unnoticed; and I stated it on the authority of a gem in the Stosch museum, and by it I showed the explanation of the passage, hitherto not understood in the poet Philemon, in which he speaks of male Sphinxes, especially as the Greek artists also formed Sphinxes with a beard, as we see on a rilievo in terra-cotta which stands in the lesser Farnese palace. When Herodotus terms the Sphinxes *ἀνδρόσφιγγες*, he intends, as I think, to denote their double sex. The Sphinxes on the four sides of the apex of the obelisk of the sun, which have human hands with the sharp claws of rending animals, are particularly deserving of attention.

17. From this investigation of the drawing of the nude figure of the older Egyptian style, I proceed to the dress of figures of this same style. I will remark, in the first place, that it consisted princi-

pally of flax, which was abundantly cultivated in Egypt (8), and that the robe, termed Kalasiris, to the lower part of which a ruffled band or hem with many folds was sewed, reached even to the feet. Over this the men threw a white mantle, made of cloth (9). The priests were dressed in white cotton. But all male figures — as well in statues as on obelisks and other works — are naked, with the exception of an apron placed about the hips and covering the abdomen (10). This apron is broken into very small plaits (11). If these figures represent divinities, the practice of figuring them in a nude state may either be an adopted one, — as was the case among the Greeks, — or it may be considered as a representation of the earliest form of dress in Egypt, and which was still existing among the Arabians long after this date; for the latter wore nothing but an apron about the body and shoes on their feet. But if they are priests, we can conceive of them as we do of the sacrificial priests among the Romans, who were likewise nude as low down as the abdomen, and wore an apron, termed *limus*, bound around them; and thus they slaughtered the victim, as it may be seen on different reliefs. Now, as the Egyptian kings, when one line of them had become extinct, were selected from the body of the priests, and all the kings were consecrated to the priesthood, it might be assumed that it was even in this view that the Egyptian kings have been imaged in such a garb (12).

18. The dress of female figures is signified merely by a prominent or raised border at the legs and neck, as it may be seen on a supposed Isis in the Campi-

doglio, and on two other figures there. Around the centre of the breasts of one of them a small circle is engraved, and from it proceed many incisions lying close to one another, like the radii of a circle, nearly two fingers broad, and passing round the breasts. This might be regarded as an absurd ornament; but I am of opinion that it was intended to signify by them the folds which would be formed by a thin veil thrown over the nipples. For on the breasts of an Egyptian Isis, but of later style, in the Albani villa, which at the first glance appear to be entirely uncovered, folds of almost imperceptible elevation are drawn, diverging in the same direction from the centre of the breasts. The clothing on the bodies of these figures must be merely imagined; and this may be the reason why Herodotus supposed the twenty female colossal statues of the concubines of King Mycerinus, made of wood, in the city of Sais, to be naked, since they were probably draped precisely in this manner; and this appears so much the more credible, as even the sculptor Francesco Maratti, of Padua, by whom the Capitoline statues were repaired, did not notice the above-mentioned projection, by which alone the dress on them is distinguishable, as I perceive from the neatly executed drawings presented by this artist to Pope Clement the Eleventh. Poccocke makes the very same remark in regard to the dress of a seated statue of Isis, which, if it were not for a projecting border above the ankles, would be considered as entirely nude. Hence, he imagines this garment as a fine muslin, of which even now the shifts of the Eastern women are made, on account of the great heat.

19. The figure in the Barberini palace, before mentioned, is dressed in a singular manner. Her robe widens from above downward, like a bell, without folds. An idea of it may be obtained from a figure given in Pococke. The tunic of a female figure of blackish granite, three palms (26 in. Eng.) in height, in the Rolandi museum at Rome, is made precisely in the same manner; but as it is not enlarged below, the lower part of the figure looks like a cylinder, so that the feet are not visible (13). Before her breast she holds a sitting *Cynocephalus*, "a dog-faced baboon," in a casket, on which are four rows, arranged in columns, of what are intended to signify hieroglyphics.

20. The rilievi with painted figures which have been preserved in structures at Thebes, and in other parts of Egypt, are said to be painted, like the dress of Osiris, without gradation of color, and without light and shadow. But this must not surprise us so much as it did the writer who states it, for all rilievi receive light and shadow through themselves, whether they are in white marble or in any other single color; and there would be nothing but confusion produced, if, in painting them over, the high and low parts should be treated the same as in a picture.

21. The dress or covering of the head is of many kinds, and the artist bestowed especial industry on the execution of it. The men, in their every-day life, indeed, usually wore nothing on their heads, and in this respect were the opposite of the Persians, as Herodotus remarks in speaking of the different hardness of the skulls of those who fell on both sides in the battle with the Persians. On the other hand,

the male figures in works of art of this first Egyptian style have the head covered either with a hood or a cap, as gods, kings, or priests. With several of them the hood hangs down over the shoulders, as well towards the breast as upon the back, in two broad bands, partly flat, and partly a little rounded on the outside. The cap resembles in a degree a bishop's mitre, and on some few figures the upper part of it is flat, like those caps which were worn two hundred years ago, for example, the cap of the elder Aldus. Animals also have the hood and mitre: the former is seen on the sphinx, the latter on the hawk. A large hawk of basalt, about three palms (26 in. Eng.) in height, with a mitre, is in the above-mentioned Rolandi museum (14). The cap with a flat crown was tied under the chin by two bands, as, for example, on a seated figure, four palms (33 in. Eng.) in height, of black granite, and the only one of its kind,—in the same museum (15).\* This cap enlarges as it rises upwards, like the Modius on the head of Serapis; and caps of this form, as worn by a few images of the ancient Persian kings in the ruins of Persepolis, are termed by the Arabians *Cancal*, that is to say, *Modius*. Similar caps are worn by the seated figures below the pinnacle of an obelisk. On the front of the cap rises a serpent, just as, on the heads of Phœnician divinities on coins of Malta (16), it rises over the forehead.

22. From a cap of this kind, worn by the figures on obelisks as well as on the Barberini Tablet above mentioned, and also from the cap of the aforesaid

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\* Plate VII.







figure, and of the figure in the Rolandi museum, rises the ornament supposed by Warburton to be the shrub of which Diodorus speaks, which was a head-ornament of the kings of Egypt. But as this head-dress on the cap rather resembles an ornament of feathers, and as it is found that the Egyptian deity Cneph, the creative god, bore wings on his head, and royal wings too, that is to say, of the kind which kings are accustomed to wear, it is probable that the ornament in question is not only what it resembles, but we are authorized to infer from it that the wearers represent kings, inasmuch as the divinity named is not otherwise known, whilst such figures are repeated on all the obelisks.

A few figures, both male and female, have four rows, representing gems, pearls, and the like, hanging over the breast like a mantilla. This ornament is found especially on figures of Canopus and on mummies.

23. The heads of female figures are always covered by a hood, which is sometimes laid in an almost infinite number of small plaits, — as, for instance, on the above-mentioned head of green basalt in the Albani villa. An oblong gem is represented as being set in the front part of this hood; and this is the only head on which the roots of the hair on the forehead are indicated. A few figures of Isis have on their head something which resembles a head-dress of artificial hair; but in reality, and particularly on the large Isis in the Capitoline museum, it seems to be composed of feathers. This is rendered more probable by an Isis introduced in my *Ancient Monuments*, upon whose hood sits a Nu-

midian hen, so called, the wings of which hang down by the sides of it, and the tail backwards.

24. Another strange fashion was the single lock of hair, which is seen hanging, near the right ear, from the shaven head of a statue of black marble, in the Campidoglio. This statue will be cited hereafter as an Egyptian imitation. The lock of hair is neither shown in the engraving nor noticed in the description of the figure.\* I have spoken of such a lock of hair on the shaven head of a figure of Harpocrates, in the *Description of the Engraved Gems of the Stosch Cabinet*, in which I pointed out, at the same time, this singularity on another figure of the same deity, which was made known by the Count Caylus. A copperplate engraving of the Stosch gem has been introduced into my *Ancient Monuments*. This lock explains Macrobius, who relates that the Egyptians represented the Sun with a shaved head, excepting one lock on the right side of it. Cuper therefore is not wrong, — although censured for his error by a modern writer, — when he asserts, without however having any knowledge of the preceding statement, that in Harpocrates the Egyptians honored also the Sun. In the museum of the College of St. Ignatius, at Rome, there is a small Harpocrates, together with two other small genuine Egyptian figures of bronze, with this lock.

25. Not a single Egyptian figure has shoes and soles; and even Plutarch relates that the women in this country went barefooted. It must therefore be considered as an exception, that the statue in Po-

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\* In the *Capitoline Museum*, Vol. III. Plate 82.

cocke, of which mention has been made, has an angular ring below the ankle-bone, from which something like a strap passes down between the great toe and the one next to it, as if for the purpose of fastening the sole (17), though the sole itself is not visible.

26. The Egyptian women, not less than those of other nations, had their ornaments, especially ear-pendants and armlets. As far as I know, ear-pendants are to be seen only on a single figure, which has been made known by Pococke (18). The same figure, and the Isis of black granite in the Campidoglio, have bracelets near the knuckles. If we were to speak accurately, we should say that the ornament in question could not be called an armlet, for this is placed about the arm of figures of other nations; but it must denote a ring. The most ancient nations, especially the Egyptians, apparently wore rings, not on the fingers, but on the hands, — a fact which we might infer from what Moses relates of Pharaoh, that the king drew his ring from his own hand and placed it upon the hand of Joseph. These are the reflections which have occurred to me in regard to the elder style of Egyptian sculpture.

## CHAPTER III.

### *Later Egyptian Style.*

1. THE third chapter of this book, — which treats of the following and later style of the Egyptian artists, — like the preceding chapter, has for its objects the drawing of the nude figure in the first place, and, in the second, the dress of figures. An example of each is seen in two figures of basalt, in the Campidoglio; and a figure, from the same kind of stone, in the Albani villa, informs us in regard to posture and dress. To the latter, however, the antique head, arms, and legs are wanting.

The face of one of the two former statues seems to deviate somewhat from the usual Egyptian shape; the mouth, however, is turned upwards, and the chin is too short; these are characteristics that belong to the more ancient Egyptian heads. The eyes are excavated; and it is probable that, anciently, the cavities were filled by some foreign material. Though the face of the other statue approaches still nearer to the Greek form, the figure, as a whole, is badly drawn, and the proportion is too short; the hands are more elegant than those of the most ancient Egyptian figures; in shape, the feet are like the most ancient; in position, they differ, being turned a little outwards. The position and action of the



former figure, as well as of the third in the Albani villa, perfectly resemble the oldest Egyptian figures; for the arms of both hang perpendicularly and close to their sides, except that the former has an opening drilled between the arms and the sides; at the back of the figures, as in all those of the oldest Egyptian style, there is an angular column against which they stand. The second statue has freer, though not detached arms; and in one hand it holds a horn of plenty, with fruits; the back of this one is free and without a column.

2. These figures, though they are the work of Egyptian artists, were executed when Egypt was under the control of the Greeks, by whom their deities, and consequently also their art, were introduced into the country, just as they, in their turn, adopted Egyptian customs. Since the Egyptians at the time of Plato, as they from time to time shook off the Persian domination, caused statues to be made, — which is attested by the statement of this writer, above cited, — it is probable that art was also exercised by their own artists in the time of the Ptolemies; and the probability is increased by the continued observance of their religious rites. The figures of this latter style are also distinguishable by bearing no hieroglyphics, which, in the case of the larger number of the most ancient Egyptian figures, are cut sometimes on their base, and sometimes on the column against which they stand (1). But in this case the style alone is the distinctive character, not the hieroglyphics; for although the latter are not found on any imitation of Egyptian figures, — of which I shall speak in the next chap-

ter, — so, on the other hand, there are also genuine antique Egyptian works without the slightest of such signs. Among these are two obelisks, the one in front of St. Peter's church, the other near Santa Maria Maggiore; and Pliny makes the same remark of two others. There are no hieroglyphics on the lions at the ascent to the Capitol, nor on the above-mentioned Osiris in the Barberini palace; and I could adduce other works (2) and figures of the kind.

3. In regard to the dress, we observe on all the three female statues mentioned above a tunic, a robe, and a mantle. But this is no contradiction of Herodotus's remark, that the Egyptian women wear only a single garment, for he probably meant to speak of the robe, or upper garment. The under garment of the two statues in the Campidoglio is laid in small plaits, and hangs down in front as far as the toes, and sideways as far as the base; on the third, namely, the statue in the Albani villa, it is not visible, because the antique legs are wanting. This under garment — to judge from the numerous plaits in which it is laid — appears to have been made of linen; and it covered not only the breast as high as the neck, but also the whole body as low as the feet, and had short sleeves, which reached only to the middle of the upper part of the arm (3). On the breasts of the third statue, this drapery falls into quite slight and almost imperceptible folds, radiating from the nipples in all directions, as I have already remarked.

4. On the first and the third statue the robe is very similar. It lies close to the flesh, with the ex-

ception of a very few superficial folds which extend upwards; and on all the three it reaches only to the lower part of the breasts, where it is drawn up through the mantle, and supported.

5. The mantle is drawn over both shoulders by two of its corners, and by means of them the robe is tied with the mantle beneath the breasts. The superfluous portion of these corners hangs down from the breast, below the tied knot, just as we see it on the beautiful Isis in the Campidoglio, and on a larger Isis in the Barberini palace, where the robe is tied with the ends of the mantle; both are in marble, and of Greek workmanship. By this means the robe is drawn upwards, and the soft folds which form on the thighs and legs are all carried upwards at the same time with it, and from the breast a single straight fold hangs down between the legs even to the feet.

6. The third statue, in the Albani villa, shows a trifling variation; only one of the ends of the mantle passes over the shoulders; the other is drawn round below the left breast, and both are tied between the breasts with the robe. Furthermore, the mantle is not visible, and as it should hang behind, it is seemingly concealed by the column against which this, as well as the first of the three statues, stands; the back of the second is without a column, and detached, and the mantle is drawn round in front of the abdomen. The robes of the aforementioned Greek statues of Isis are trimmed with fringes, like the mantles of the statues of captive kings, apparently for the purpose of denoting by this means a goddess whose worship had been introduced

from foreign lands. A garment of this kind was termed *Gausapum*; it was of a shaggy appearance, and, when introduced into Rome, was worn by women in winter.

7. After this peculiarity had attracted my notice, I examined all the figures of Isis relatively to their drapery, and I then observed that all of them, without an exception, wore their mantles in such a manner, and that this fashion is a distinguishing mark of the goddess. By means of it, I recognized an Isis in a torso of a colossal statue which stands against the Venetian palace in Rome, and is called by the people *Donna Lucrezia*. A beautiful bronze figure of Isis, a palm (8.80 in. Eng.) in height, as well as two or three smaller figures of her in the *Herculaneum* museum, show the goddess dressed precisely in this way; the attributes of *Fortune* have been given both to the latter and the former.

8. The second part of this chapter treats of figures which resemble the ancient Egyptian figures more nearly than the latter do, and which were executed neither in Egypt nor by Egyptian artists, but are imitations of Egyptian works, that came into fashion among the Romans contemporaneously with the introduction of the worship of Egyptian deities. The most ancient of such works are, as far as I know, two bas-relief figures of Isis in gypsum, which are to be seen in a small chapel in the front court of the temple of Isis, recently discovered amid the ruins of the buried city of *Pompeii*. As this calamity befell the city in the reign of *Titus*, it is probable that these figures are more ancient than the statues of a similar kind which were ex-

homed at Adrian's villa, in Tivoli. During the reign of the latter emperor, who, with all his acquirements in knowledge, was uncommonly superstitious, reverence for the Egyptian deities appears to have spread more than previously; and his example probably encouraged a belief in this false worship. For he caused a singular temple to be erected in the Tiburtine villa, which he named Canopus; in it he placed numerous statues of Egyptian deities; and the greater number, if not all, of such Egyptian imitations have been taken from it. In some of them he caused the most ancient Egyptian figures to be accurately imitated; in others, he united Egyptian art with the Grecian. Some of both kinds are found, in attitude and adjustment resembling the earliest Egyptian figures; that is, they stand perfectly upright and without action, with arms hanging down straight, and lying close to the sides and hips; their feet are parallel, and, like the Egyptian, they rest against an angular column. Others, however, have the same attitude, but the arms, with which they either carry or point to something, are free. It is a matter of regret that all these figures have not their ancient heads, because the head always affords the principal illustration of the style. It is well to mention the fact, because they who have written about these statues have not, in all cases, been aware of it. Even the Isis quoted above has a modern head, which Bottari holds to be antique. The locks of hair which lie on the shoulders had been preserved, and the hair on the modern head was executed in conformity with the intimation thus given. After the restoration, the genuine an-



tique head was found, and purchased by the Cardinal Polignac, whose museum the king of Prussia bought. This head, and several others which the same Cardinal also acquired, were found in Adrian's villa, at Tivoli, among many statues broken to pieces by the axe, in a pond the sides and bottom of which were faced with marble. I will notice here the several different kinds of works in this style, and among them the most important pieces, with a criticism upon their drawing and form, and afterwards touch upon the drapery.

9. Of statues, two of reddish granite, which stand near the episcopal residence at Tivoli(†), and the cited Egyptian Antinoüs of marble, in the Capitoline museum, are especially to be noticed. The latter statue is somewhat larger than life; but the two former are nearly twice as large as nature, and have not only the attitude of the earliest Egyptian figures, but, like these, they stand against an angular column; they are, however, without hieroglyphics. The hips and abdomen are covered by aprons; and the hoods have two smooth bands which come forwards, and hang down in front; on their heads they carry baskets, — after the manner of the Caryatides, — made out of the same piece as the figure. Now as the attitude and shape of these statues, generally, perfectly resemble those of Egyptian works of the first style, it has been assumed by all that they are such works; but no careful examination of the form of particular parts was made; if it had been, the contrary would have been shown to be the case. For the chest, which in the earliest male figures of the Egyptians is flat, is, in these examples, strongly ele-



vated, like the breasts of heroes; the ribs beneath the breast, which in the Egyptian are not to be seen at all, here appear distinctly marked; the body above the hips, which is very contracted there, has its rightfulness here; the joints and cartilages of the knees are worked out more prominently here than there; the muscles of the arms, as well as of other parts, are plainly visible; the shoulder-blades, which are, as it were, without any indication there, rise up here with a decided rounding, and the feet approach more nearly to the Greek form.

10. But the greatest difference is in the face, which is neither executed after the Egyptian manner, nor similar, in other respects, to Egyptian heads. For the eyes do not lie on the same level with the eyebrow-bones, as they frequently do in nature, and as they always do in Egyptian heads, but they are deeply sunk, after the system of Greek art, for the purpose of projecting those bones, and of obtaining light and shade. Besides these Greek forms, there is plainly to be seen a conformation of face perfectly similar to that of the Antinoüs: so that I am convinced that I find in these statues an image of this celebrated young man (5). In the Egyptian Antinoüs of the Capitoline museum, of which I have spoken, the blending of the Greek with the Egyptian style is still more perceptible; moreover, it stands detached, and not against a column.

11. Among statues of this kind may be included several Sphinxes; and there are four of them, of black granite, in the Albani villa, the heads of which have a conformation that cannot, either in design or execution, have been the work of Egyptian artists.

Statues of Isis, in marble, do not belong here; for they are executed altogether in the Greek style, in the days of the emperors too, and no earlier, because in the time of Cicero the worship of Isis had not been adopted at Rome.

12. Of rilievi belonging among these imitations is particularly to be mentioned that one of green basalt which stands in the court-yard of the Mattei palace, representing a sacrificial procession. Another work of this kind — of which I have also spoken in another place — is the fragment figured in an engraving in the *Ancient Monuments*, but of which the original is lost. The Isis on it is winged; and the wings are thrown from behind forwards and downwards, and cover the whole abdomen.\* The Isis on the Isic Tablet, likewise, has large wings; but here they are placed above the hips, and are expanded forwards, for the purpose, as it would seem, of mantling the body, — after the manner of Cherubim. So, too, on a coin of the island of Malta, are to be seen two figures, shaped like Cherubim, and — what is remarkable, with the feet of oxen like them — which stand opposite to one another; and the wings, extended from the hips, are drawn downwards towards each other. A figure, having wings at the hips, is also found on a mummy; they are raised for the purpose of overshadowing another deity, which is seated.

13. I cannot refrain from remarking, that the Isic or Bembo Tablet, of bronze, with silver inlaid figures, is held by Warburton to be a work that was made in Rome. This assertion, however, appears to have

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\* Plate VIII.





no foundation, and has been adopted merely in aid of his opinion (6). I have not myself been able to examine the table; but the hieroglyphics on it, which are found on no works imitated by the Romans, give one reason in support of its antiquity, and in refutation of his judgment.

14. The Canopi (7), of which the greater number are wrought from basalt, and the engraved gems, which, like them, are garnished with Egyptian figures and signs, have a place here,\* with statues and rilievi. Of the Canopi of later times, the Cardinal Alexander Albani possesses the two most beautiful; they are of green basalt; the better one, which was found on the headland of Circe, between Nettuno and Terracina, has already been published. A similar Canopus, of the same stone, stands in the Campidoglio, and, like the other in the Albani villa, was found in Adrian's villa, at Tivoli. In regard to the age of these works, we can draw a conclusion partly from the drawing, and partly from the workmanship, and not less from the absence of hieroglyphs. The drawing, especially of the heads of the Canopi, is altogether in the Greek style; but the rilievi on the abdomen are imitations of Egyptian figures; the work of these figures is raised work, and consequently not done by Egyptian artists, whose raised figures do not project beyond the surface of the stone in which they are cut (8).

15. Among the engraved gems are all those Scarabæi whose high, rounded side presents a beetle, cut in relief, and whose flat side shows an Egyp-

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\* Plate IX.

tian deity of later times, cut in intaglio. Writers who hold stones of this kind to be very old, have no other indication of high antiquity than their inelegance, and none at all that they are of Egyptian workmanship. Moreover, all engraved gems with figures or heads of Serapis and Anubis are of the times of the Romans, among whom Serapis, who is the Pluto of the Greeks, as I shall hereafter prove, has nothing Egyptian; and it is also said that the worship of this deity came from Thrace, and was introduced into Egypt by Ptolemy the First. Of gems bearing the image of Anubis, there are fifteen in the former Stosch museum, and all of them are of the later period. The engraved gems, named Abraxas (9), are now everywhere acknowledged as the bungling work of the Gnostics or Basilidians of the earliest Christian periods, and not deserving, in point of art, of being taken into consideration (10).

16. In the drapery of figures imitating the earliest Egyptian, the case is the same generally as with the drawing and form of the nude parts of them. There are a few male figures, girt only with an apron, like the genuine Egyptian; and the one which, as I have mentioned, has a lock of hair hanging from its shaved head on the right side, is entirely naked,—a state in which no antique male figure of the Egyptians is found (11). The female figures are, like the Egyptian, entirely dressed; a few even after the fashion which I have shown to be the most ancient, in which the dress is denoted by a slight projection on the legs, and by a rim around the neck and upper part of the arms. From







the abdomen of a few of these figures a single fold hangs down between the legs; but, on the body, the dress is merely a thing of imagination. Over a dress of this kind other female figures have a mantle, which, hanging down from the shoulders, is tied on the chest in front, — precisely in the manner previously noticed by me. An Isis of marble, in the Barberini gallery, about which a snake has twined itself, wears a hood, like Egyptian figures, and a necklace of a few strings of beads or pearls upon the breast, like the Canopi. As something singular, I notice a male figure of black marble (12), in the Albani villa, — the head of which is lost, — that is dressed precisely in the same manner as the women; but the sex is distinguishable by the tokens of it prominent beneath the dress.

## CHAPTER IV.

### *Mechanical Part of Egyptian Art.*

1. THE fourth chapter relates to the mechanical part of Egyptian art,—first, in sculpture; secondly, in painting. In both, the kind and mode of execution of their works will be considered, as well as the material in which they are wrought.

2. In regard to the execution, it is related by Diodorus that the Egyptian sculptors, after having applied their established measures to the stone, still in an unwrought state, sawed it through the middle, and that two artists divided between themselves the workmanship of a figure. Telecles and Theodorus, of Samos, are said to have made, in the same way, a wooden statue of Apollo, which stood at Samos, in Greece;—Telecles, one half, at Samos; and Theodorus, the other half, at Ephesus. This statue was divided through the middle below the hips, as low down as the private parts, and afterwards again put together in this place, so that the two pieces fitted to each other perfectly. In no other way than this can the historian be understood (1). For is it credible, as all translators understand it, that the statue was divided from the crown of the head down to the private parts, as Jupiter is said, by the fable, to have cut through

the middle, from above downwards, the first generation of double men? The Egyptians would have prized such a work just as little as they did the man whom Ptolemy the First exhibited to them, who, in this way, was half white and half black. In illustration of my explanation, I can adduce the Egyptian Antinoüs of the Capitoline museum, of which mention has been frequently made, as this figure consists of two halves, joined together below the hips, and below the edge of the apron; it would, therefore, be necessary to consider it as an imitation of the Egyptians even in this particular (2). This Antinoüs probably stood among the Egyptian deities in the Canopus, as it was called, in the villa of the Emperor Adrian, at Tivoli, where it was found. But the mode of working of which Diodorus speaks could not have been adopted except in the case of a few colossal statues, because all other Egyptian statues are formed of a single piece. Diodorus himself, however, makes mention of many Egyptian colossi in one piece, of which a few have been preserved even to the present day: among them was the statue of the King Osymandyas, whose feet were seven ells in length (3).

3. All the Egyptian figures now extant are finished, smoothed, and polished, with infinite pains; and there is not a single one that has been entirely finished with the chisel alone, as are a few of the best Greek statues of marble, because it was not possible, in this way, to give a smooth surface to granite and basalt. The figures on the points of the lofty obelisks are executed as images are which are designed to be examined within a short distance:

this is evident on the Barberini obelisk, and especially on that of the Sun, both of which are lying on the ground. On the latter, the ear, especially, of a Sphinx is elaborated with so much knowledge and delicacy, that a more perfect, finished one is not to be found on Greek rilievi in marble. The same diligence is shown in a really antique Egyptian engraved gem of the Stosch museum, the execution of which does not yield in the least to that of the best Greek engraved gems. This gem, an onyx of extraordinary beauty, represents a seated Isis, and is engraved after the manner of the work on the obelisks; and as a layer of white lies below the very thin stratum of brownish color, the proper color of the stone, the face, arms, and hands, together with the stool, have been cut so deeply as to reach this layer, for the purpose of having them white.

Occasionally, the Egyptian artists excavated the eyes, for the purpose of inserting eyeballs of a particular material, as may be seen in the above-mentioned Isis of the second style, in the Capitoline museum, in a head in the Albani villa, and in another broken-off head in the Altieri villa. In a head, together with the breast, in the latter villa, the eyes, which are of a different material, are fitted in so accurately, that they seem to have been poured in whilst in a liquid state; and in the case of another head, in the Albani villa, made of the most beautiful reddish and fine-grained granite, the eyeballs are seen to have been finished by pointed tools, and not smoothed, like the head itself.

4. The other works of Egyptian sculpture consist of figures which are cut into the stone, and likewise



raised; that is to say, they are raised of and by themselves, but not in regard to the works on which they are executed; for they lie below the surface of them. But works of the kind which we term rilievi were made by the artists of this nation only in bronze, — being formed in moulds, by casting. Among works of this sort there is a water vessel, or pail with a handle, which was used at sacrifices, and which is termed a *situla* by Roman authors, wherever they mention Egyptian usages; but it has been erroneously pronounced by him who first made it known as the article named *Vannus Iacchi*, the “Fan of Bacchus.” It came afterwards into the possession of the celebrated Count Caylus, by whom it has been described: I shall presently have an opportunity to speak of it.

5. But when I assert that Egyptian rilievi, properly so called, were wrought only in bronze, I know very well that rilievi are found in Egyptian stones, as, for example, the above-mentioned Canopi of green basalt. But the reader will remember that I have placed these kinds of figures among the later imitations, which were executed in the time of the Romans. Here an attempt might be made to disprove my opinion by means of a female head of white marble, of the earliest Egyptian art, which is fixed in the wall of the residence of the Senator, on the Campidoglio, because it is apparently executed, not after the Egyptian, but after the Greek manner of forming relief. But if this head be examined through a good telescope, it will be found that it is the sole remaining part of a larger work, which in modern times has been set upon a tablet of marble; it is

therefore probable that it also was formerly a relief within the marble in which it was executed (4).

6. In the second place, in regard to the material of which Egyptian works are executed, figures are found of burnt clay, wood, stone, and bronze.

Of small figures in burnt clay, a great number, as Count Caylus relates, are found in Cyprus, because this island was subject to the Ptolemies, and therefore probably peopled by Egyptians. Several of such figures, executed in the genuine antique style of their artists, and marked with hieroglyphs, have also been discovered in the temple of Isis at Pompeii; and I myself am the owner of five small priests of Isis of this kind; and several more are to be found in the museum of Mr. Hamilton, Minister Plenipotentiary of Great Britain at Naples. They all resemble each other; and they are coated over with a green enamel or polish. The hands are folded crosswise on the breast; in the left is a staff; in the right, together with the customary whip, is a band, to which is suspended a small tablet behind, on the left shoulder. This tablet, on two of the larger figures of the kind in the Herculaneum museum, is marked with hieroglyphs,—clearly to be discerned.

7. Wooden figures, shaped after the fashion of mummies, are preserved in several museums; three of the kind belong to the museum of the Roman College, one of which is painted.

8. Of Egyptian stones there are several kinds, as it is known; namely, granite, basalt, and porphyry.

9. Granite, which is supposed to be the Ethiopian marble of Herodotus, or the Thebaic stone, is of two kinds; namely, the black and white, and the red and

whitish. The former is found in many countries, yet nowhere so perfect in color and hardness as the Egyptian; but the latter comes from Egypt alone. From this kind of granite all the obelisks are hewn; many statues, also, are found wrought from it,—among others, three of the largest in the Capitoline museum (5). The large Isis in the same place is made of a blackish granite; also a presumed Anubis, as large as life, of which mention has already been made, in the Albani villa (6), together with several others. These two are the largest figures of the kind. Granite of a coarser grain was most frequently used for pillars. It is asserted in many books, that one of the corner-pillars of the court of the Pantheon was executed from granite of the island of Elba, by order of Pope Alexander the Seventh; but this is a modern fable, for the column is of red granite,—a variety especially peculiar to Egypt.

10. The common basalt is a stone which may be compared with the lava of Vesuvius, with which all Naples is paved, and also with the pavement-stones of ancient Roman streets (7); to speak properly, basalt is a species of lava of a uniform color, as it is, most frequently, at the present day. But there are two kinds of basalt; namely, the black—the sort more commonly found—and the greenish. Of the former, animals in particular are executed, as, for instance, the Lions on the ascent to the Campidoglio, and the Sphinxes in the Borghese villa. But the two largest Sphinxes,—the one in the Vatican and the other in the Giulia villa,—both being ten palms ( $7\frac{1}{2}$  ft. Eng.) in length, are of reddish granite. Among others, the two statues of the subsequent and

later Egyptian style, above mentioned, in the Campi doglio, and a few smaller figures, are also of black basalt. Moreover, that statue of the Emperor Pescennius Niger, which, according to Spartian, was made of black stone, and was sent to him by the king of Thebes, was probably of basalt, and of the commonest sort of it too; it still stood in the days of the writer on the top of the emperor's residence in Rome, and was accompanied by a Greek inscription. The color of the stone pointed symbolically to the name of Niger. Neither Egypt nor Thebes had kings at that time; and therefore the statement cannot be understood in any other sense than as the act of a Roman commander, who was, as it were, in place of the king at Thebes,—as it has already been explained by me. The greenish basalt is found of different shades of green, and also of different degrees of hardness; and both Egyptian and Greek artists have worked in this stone. Of Egyptian figures from this stone, there is a small seated Anubis (8) in the Capitoline museum; also, in the Altieri villa, thighs and crossed legs; and a beautiful base with hieroglyphs, and the feet of a female figure on it, in the museum of the Roman College. These feet indicate that the figure would have been more beautiful than any of the works which we have from Egyptian artists. Heads of this kind of basalt are seen in the Albani and Altieri villas, and I myself possess a head, covered with a mitre, made from it. Of this same material, imitations of Egyptian works, as the Canopi are, were made in later times. Of Greek works, I know a head of Jupiter Serapis, in the Albani villa, wanting the chin, which it has

not as yet been possible to restore (9), on account of the difficulty of finding stone of perfectly similar color; also, a head of an athlete with Pancratiast ears, which belongs to the Maltese ambassador now at Rome; and I am the owner of a beautiful, though mutilated, head of the black kind: I shall offer a conjecture in regard to both in another place.

11. Besides these, the usual stones, figures are also found in alabaster, breccia, marble, and the matrix of the emerald. Alabaster was quarried at Thebes in large blocks. In the museum of the Roman College there is a seated Isis with Horus in her lap, about two palms ( $17\frac{1}{2}$  in. Eng.) in height, and another smaller seated figure. Of larger statues of this stone, the sole one remaining is the one previously mentioned, which is found in the Albani villa; the upper part of it, having been lost, is replaced by alabaster of this country (10). The alabaster of the lower part, even to the hips, which is whitish, and has veins or layers still whiter, running in a sinuous and undulating direction, must not be confounded with another kind, which was also quarried near Thebes in Egypt, and Damascus in Syria, and by Pliny termed onyx, — not the precious stone of the same name, — which at first was used for splendid vases, but subsequently also for columns. It appears to be the kind of which the layers resemble in a degree those of the agate-onyx; and to this character it probably owes its name. Several vases of this valuable kind, and of different sizes, are contained in the villa of the Cardinal Alexander Albani; a few of them may be as large as an amphora. Pliny calls a vase of this shape *vas ampho-*



*vale*; and at the time of Cornelius Nepos, it was the largest vessel that had ever been seen. One of the most beautiful of such long vases belongs to Prince Altieri, who found it a few years ago, while making excavations at his villa near Albano. The largest vase of alabaster, though not of the shape of an amphora, but of that of a pear, also not of onyx-alabaster, but rather of the former whiter sort, is in the Borghese villa; it was used to preserve the ashes of the dead, as shown by the following inscription on it:—

P. CLAVDIVS. P. F.  
 AP. N. AP. PRON.  
 PVLCHER. Q. QVÆSITOR.  
 PR. AVGVV.

This inscription is not to be found, at least not in Gruter's work. The individual whose ashes were contained in this splendid vase can be no other than the son of the infamous Publius Clodius or Claudius, — which may be ascertained by examining the register of the Claudian family.

12. Of porphyry there are two kinds found, — the red, termed *Pyropæcilon* by Pliny (11), and the greenish; the latter is the more rare, and sometimes it seems to be sprinkled with gold; Pliny states this of the Theban stone. Of the latter kind there are, however, no figures remaining, but only columns, and these are of extreme rareness. Two large columns stand outside of the gate of Santo Paolo, in the Church named *Alle Tre Fontane*, on the farther side of St. Paul's Church; two others are in the Church of Santo Lorenzo, outside of Rome, but so walled



in that only a small portion of them is visible. There were four in the Farnese palace, but they have been carried to Naples, and it is intended to use them in the gallery at Portici; and two smaller ones were taken to Portugal by Fuentes, a Portuguese ambassador to Rome at the beginning of the present century, on his return home. There were formerly in the Verospi palace at Rome two large, badly executed modern vases of this stone, and in the Albani villa a smaller but antique vase.

The extant statues of red porphyry, which, as we are told by Aristides, is quarried in Arabia, — and of which Assemann, custodian of the Vatican library, asserts that there are large mountains between the Red Sea and Mount Sinai, — are to be regarded either as works executed under the Ptolemies by Greek artists in Egypt, — which I shall hereafter adduce proofs to show, — or as made in the time of the Roman emperors; for most of them represent captive kings, with statues of whom the triumphal arches and other public works were ornamented. Two such kings are found in the Borghese villa, and two others in the Medici villa. A seated female figure in the Farnese palace belongs to this same period; the head and hands, which are bad, seem to have been made of bronze by Guglielmo della Porta. The upper part of a statue clad in armor, in the Farnese palace, was executed in Rome; for it was found in its present condition, not wholly finished, in the Campus Martius, as we are informed by the manuscripts of Pirro Ligorio, in the Vatican library. Of a more remote period, and of a higher style of art, are a Pallas in the Medici villa, the

beautiful Juno, so called, with the inimitable robe, in the Borghese villa, both of which have heads, hands, and feet of marble, and a torso of a draped goddess, on the ascent to the Campidoglio. All three may, perchance, be works of Greek artists in Egypt, — as it will be shown in its appropriate place. Of the earliest Egyptian figures of porphyry there is only a single one, with the head of a Chimæra, known in our time; but it has been removed from Rome to Sicily. In the Labyrinth at Thebes there were statues of this stone (12).

13. It might be doubted whether porphyry was actually quarried in Egypt, since not a single traveller, so far as we know, makes mention of quarries of porphyry existing there; and the doubt induces me to enter into a slight examination of this stone, and to state what I hope to prove through the knowledge which I have of granite.

In many countries of Europe, vast mountains of granite are known to exist; and in France houses are frequently built of it; in Spain, indeed, on the road from Alicant to Madrid, nothing but granite is seen. Now, as pieces of white granite, which can be ground to powder, are found beneath the lava of Vesuvius, and as they resemble the fragments of the large column of Antoninus Pius, which has been crumbled by fire, it follows that a granite of this kind from Vesuvius either is not perfectly matured, or, which is the more likely, has been melted by a fresh conflagration of the mountain. If, then, we compare with this fact the account of the burning of the Pyrenees in Spain, from the bosom of which silver is said to have flowed down its sides in

streams, at some very early periods, and regard such burning as the fiery eruptions of this mountain, it becomes a probability that the granite of Spain, as well as that of other lands, must be produced by volcanic mountains.

14. This leads us, in the next place, to the origin of porphyry; for it is clear, from what I shall adduce, that it is produced in a similar manner to granite. M. Desmarest, an experienced natural philosopher, and Superintendent of Manufactures in France, has discovered in a few mountain ranges of this kingdom, and especially on a mountain not far from the city of Aix in Provence, red porphyry, though only in small pieces, and enclosed in the granite, as in a matrix; and large specks of the finest porphyry of a greenish-black color are discovered in many fragments of lava similarly disposed; indeed, it is affirmed that red porphyry is found in the mountainous ranges of Dalecarlia, in Sweden.

15. From the rarity of Egyptian figures in porphyry, it might even be conjectured that it is not an Egyptian stone; for during my residence of more than twelve years in Rome, there has been found only a single piece of a small Egyptian figure, made of red porphyry and characterized by hieroglyphics, and this has been removed from Rome, where it lay in the house of a stone-cutter, into the museum at Paris, by M. Desmarest, mentioned above. This doubt was also confirmed by the statement of the learned traveller, Mr. Wortley Montague, that it was very rare to find a piece of porphyry in Lower Egypt, for the disturbed state of Upper Egypt did not allow him to go there. He wrote to me that, in

the ruins of almost countless cities, he had seen only here and there a few small pieces of this stone; but that on the entire route from Cairo to Mount Sinai not a trace of it is to be found. According to his testimony, this stone is produced solely on the mountain of St. Katharine, which is still an hour's travel higher. It may be noticed, however, as the same writer remarks, at the end of three quarters of an hour's travel, though it is not of the best quality, for the red is much brighter than that of the porphyry frequently seen in Rome, and the white is not sufficiently compact, so that holes are visible in the white granules. The mingling of white and red produces a resemblance to those stones on which plants are found figured. This plant-like kind ceases at about half the ascent of this lofty mountain, and the stone becomes more compact and of a better color than it was farther down; but yet it is not to be compared with beautiful porphyry. This traveller, however, did not discover on the whole mountain any traces of a quarry. Finally, we have before us the testimony of Aristides, who says explicitly that porphyry came from Arabia, and we must therefore infer that both the Egyptians and the Romans — the latter especially, who made more frequent use of porphyry — procured this stone from quarries in the mountain ranges of Arabia.

16. If we now assume that granite originated like lava, it follows, from the above-mentioned discovery of porphyry in granite and lava, that porphyry may be produced in a similar way, and that, consequently, where beautiful granite is found, porphyry also may be sought and found; and it may therefore be in-

ferred with great probability, that, as Egypt has sent forth the most beautiful granite, it may furnish porphyry too. The same ranges which produce red porphyry must yield, besides, the far more rare kind of a green color, since veins and large pieces of the latter are found in statues, columns, and tablets of the former. A large piece of green porphyry is observable on the left shoulder of a statue of red porphyry, in the Medici villa, which represents a captive king. Slabs of this sort are found in the church of Santo Lorenzo, in the pavement of the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, in the royal hall, *Sala Regia*, so called, of the Vatican palace, in the Borghese villa, and in the Lancellotti palace. But the clearest proof of the native land of porphyry is afforded by an uncommonly hard stone of the kind termed *Breccia*, of which I shall hereafter speak further.

17. Porphyry, on account of its intractable hardness, cannot, like marble, be worked with a chisel, *scalpello*, or with the edge of a broad tool, but it requires to be hammered little by little, and with great patience, with picks sharpened to a point. In this work, the progress of which is imperceptible, each blow strikes out sparks of fire. When at length, after countless repeated blows with the pick, — for a single year was not sufficient for the completion of a draped statue, — the deep parts were got out in the coarsest manner, then it was necessary to reduce the whole by means of emery; and this process of rubbing and polishing required more than another year's time; for several artists could not conveniently labor at the same time on the same statue. Now, as a work executed in this stone demands infinite



time and patience, it cannot but surprise us that skilful Greek artists were found who were willing to submit to such toilsome effort and tedious delay, in which the spirit is fettered and the hand wearied, without enough progress to sustain and gladden the eye. But in order to explain myself still more clearly, the labor just noticed is done in the following manner. The first hand, as the usual expression is, works upon it with long iron bars hammered square to a point, termed *subbie*, "chisels," by which pieces imperceptibly small are chipped off. After the coarsest part is knocked off, a heavy hammer-shaped tool, pointed at both ends, is next used; and at last, on the completion of this second stage, a tool shaped in precisely the same way, except that it has a broad edge, is substituted; and with this the workman goes over the work several times, until it is in a fit state for polishing. In this way statues and columns are executed; and the artist, when at work, commonly wears a particular kind of spectacles, in order to protect his eyes from the fine dust which flies from the stone. The same mode of proceeding is adopted with the Egyptian breccia, so called, though all parts of it are not equally hard.

18. It is necessary to notice this stone, breccia, although there has been preserved only a torso of a statue made of it. It is a composite of innumerable other kinds of stone, and, among them, of fragments of porphyry of each color,—a circumstance which induces me to believe that it was quarried in Egypt. This stone was included under the generic Italian word *breccia*, a word which neither



the Cruscan Academy nor that pitiful Florentine writer, Baldinucci, explains, though it ought to have been defined by both. We understand by breccia a stone which seemingly consists of many fragments of other stones; and this is, as Ménage rightly observes, the ground of its name, which he derives from the German word *brechen*, "to break." Now, as Egyptian stones are more conspicuous than any others in the conformation of this breccia, I have thought that we must give it the name of Egyptian breccia. The ground-color of the stone is green, of which an infinite number of shades and tints are observable in it, insomuch that, as I am assured, neither painter nor colorist has ever produced them; and the blending of them must appear wonderful in the eyes of those who are attentive observers of nature's productions. The torso of the statue mentioned above represents a seated captive king, who is dressed after the manner of barbarian nations; nothing is wanting but the extremities, the head and the hands, which were probably of white marble. It has been set up by the Cardinal Alexander Albani, in a special small edifice belonging to his villa, which is adorned with other works in the same stone. On each side of the statue stands a column, and in front of it a large round cup ten palms (7 ft. 4 in.) in diameter, of the same stone. Besides these pieces, there may be seen in the cathedral at Capua an antique bathing-tub of breccia, which now serves as a baptismal font.

19. The numerous extant works of white, black, and yellowish marble in Egypt, mentioned by writers of travels in this country, show that, besides granite,

porphyry, and alabaster, different kinds of marble were also quarried there. The long and narrow passages of the largest pyramid are faced with white marble, which undoubtedly is not Parian marble, as Pliny has allowed himself to state. Even at the present day, fragments of obelisks, statues, and sphinxes of yellowish marble are still to be seen there, one of which is twenty-two feet in length; moreover, colossal statues of white marble. Still, I was for a long time doubtful in regard to Egyptian figures of white marble in Rome, notwithstanding the head on the Campidoglio, wrought in relief, of which mention has already been made; for this might possibly pass for only an imitation of the antique Egyptian style, since it is placed so high as to be beyond the reach of accurate examination. My doubts were, however, removed by a fragment of a genuine Egyptian statue of white marble, which is marked by hieroglyphs: it belongs to a stone-cutter in the Campo Vaccino. But I have been convinced that Egyptian artists worked in such marble, particularly by the broken slabs of it in the museum of the Roman College. These show a rilievo after the Egyptian style; that is to say, it does not project beyond the surface of the marble, though it is in relief; or, to express myself more perspicuously, the raised work is formed by cutting into the slabs. One of the pieces shows the upper part of a figure, of life-size, as low as the shoulders; on them, instead of a human head, are seen the long neck and head of a bird, from which there rises straight upwards a tuft of feathers; the long bill is curved at its tip. Nevertheless, this figure appears to have its human head, yet in such

a manner that it is entirely covered by the usual Egyptian hood, from which two bands hang down as low as the breast, and by the neck and head of the bird, which rise upward in order to conceal the face of the figure. A clearer idea of this shape can be formed from a figure on the Isiac Table, so called, at Turin, which perfectly resembles the one I am now describing. Hence I believe that two similar figures, painted on the first mummy described by Alexander Gordon, did not have straight bills, as the engraving represents, but bills with the point curving downwards. He errs, therefore, in common with Pignorius, when he holds the head of this bird to be that of an ibis or stork, because the latter has not a curved beak. I have been told that it is an African bird, named *Acaviae*; this point, however, I leave to be settled by the natural historians. The work here described is evidently a production of the earliest art among the Egyptians. I am, on the other hand, doubtful as to a small male bust, in the Herculaneum museum, executed with uncommon care, — about half a palm (4.4 in. Eng.) in height, wearing a beard, and made of a white marble called *Palombino*, — because all male statues of Egyptians show a smooth chin, and also because the beard is arranged after the fashion of the beard worn by Greek *Hermæ*. A piece of an obelisk of black marble has also been found. In the Albani villa there is the upper part of a large statue in *rosso antico*, “antique red”; but it was probably made, as its style indicates, in the reign of the Emperor Adrian, in whose villa at Tivoli the fragment was discovered.

20. There is only a single small seated figure, so

far as we know, made of the plasma of emerald; the socle as well as the column behind is characterized by hieroglyphs (13). It may be found in the Albani villa, and it is about a palm and a half (13 in. Eng.) in height. This rare stone is commonly regarded as the mother of emerald; that is, the shell in which the gem is supposed to lie concealed; but it is harder than any emerald; whereas the reverse ought to be the case. For it is usually the same with gems as with fruits, whose rind is softer than the fruit which it contains. The opposite of this, however, is also found, since there are large flint-stones which incase petrified muscles, and consequently inclose a softer substance. In the Corsini palace may also be seen a few table-slabs (14), formed by putting together pieces of this rare gem.

21. Besides works in wood and stone by Egyptian artists, a few in bronze have been preserved. They consist of small figures, of the Isiac Table, so called, in the royal museum at Turin, of the sacrificial vessel or water-bucket mentioned above, and of a small oblong square base of about a palm and a half (13 in. Eng.) in length, with engraved figures and characters, in the Herculaneum museum. Of small figures, a multitude were found in the temple of Isis, discovered at Pompeii; and from another figure, in the museum of Mr. Hamilton, it is seen that these small works were filled internally with lead, in order to make them stand more firmly. The largest of this kind of figures is an Isis with Horus on her lap, which was in the museum of the celebrated Count Caylus. Detached figures of bronze were occasionally coated with gypsum, and gilded, as

a small Osiris shows, which was made known by the same writer. The base mentioned above has the true Egyptian form of the simple fluting peculiar to all the bases and structures of this people. On the middle of the front side is represented a long vessel, moored by Egyptian rushes, in the middle of which a large bird sits; on the bow, a figure is seated flat on the floor; and on the stern stands an Anubis with a dog's head, steering the vessel. On both sides sit female figures with wings stretched forward, which are attached to the hips and cover their feet,—like the figures on the Maltese coins, as well as on the Isiac Table.

22. At the close of this chapter, and of the examination of the mechanical part of sculpture, I shall state what is known to us of Egyptian painting, in regard to its kind and mode: the reader will easily perceive that I speak of painted mummies in particular. In the investigation of this kind of painting, I appeal to the immortal Caylus, by whom it has been studied with the utmost diligence, especially in reference to the colors employed, and I have found his observations correct so far as regards the mummies which I have myself seen.

All the colors are dissolved in water, and more or less tempered with gum; and all of them are laid on unmixed. They are six in number,—white, black, blue, red, yellow, and green. The red and the blue, however, are those which present themselves most frequently, and they are ground pretty coarsely. The white, which consists of common white-lead (15), forms the coating of the linen cloth of the mummies, and constitutes what modern paint-

ers term the priming; the outlines of the figures are then drawn in black on the white ground, and the ground itself forms the white of those parts which are designed to be of this color.

23. This kind of painting, however, is very unimportant when compared with that of which Norden gives an account. He states that he found in Upper Egypt entire palaces, and the columns in them, thirty-two feet in circumference, completely covered with ornamental painting, insomuch that walls eighty feet in height were painted, and had colossal figures on them. The colors of these paintings are, as on the mummies, whole and unmixed, and each one is laid on by itself, but on a ground and by means of a cement which have rendered the duration of them everlasting, so that they, as well as the gilding, continue perfectly fresh after the lapse of some thousand years, and cannot be detached from the walls and columns by any violence.

24. I close this treatise upon the art of the Egyptians with the remark, that none of their coins have ever been discovered, by means of which we might have attained a more enlarged knowledge of their skill; for the known Egyptian coins did not begin until after the time of Alexander the Great. Hence we might doubt whether the ancient Egyptians had any coins stamped with dies, if some proof of it were not found in writers in regard to the obolus, as it is called, which was placed in the mouths of the dead. On this account the mouths of the mummies, especially of those that are covered with paintings, like the one at Bologna, are destroyed by persons seeking for the coins. This was



done in the instance of the mummy just mentioned, in presence of the Cardinal Alexander Albani, by the missionary himself who brought it over as a gift to him; for after he had allowed it to be seen in an uninjured state, and to be inspected a long time, he suddenly, and before the by-standers had an opportunity to prevent him, tore open the mouth; he did not find however what he sought. Pococke speaks of three coins, but he does not communicate their age; yet they do not appear from the impression to have been made before the conquest of Egypt by the Persians.

25. In conclusion, let it be considered that a resemblance may be traced between Egyptian art, and the form of the country at the present day; and the history of it may be compared with an extensive desolate plain, which can be overlooked from two or three lofty towers. The entire circuit of ancient Egyptian art has two periods. Works from both are remaining; and from them we can form a reasonable judgment as to the art of the age in which they were executed. On the other hand, Greek and Etruscan art may be compared with the countries of Greece and Etruria, which are full of mountain ranges, and cannot therefore be overlooked; and hence I believe that, in the present treatise, I have thrown upon Egyptian art all the light needed.

## CHAPTER V.

### *Art among the Phœnicians and Persians.*

HISTORICAL accounts and a few general statements comprise our knowledge of the art of these two nations. We have nothing definite to say in regard to the details of their drawing and figures. There is also little hope that larger and more important works of sculpture will be discovered, from which more light and knowledge might be obtained. But as coins by Phœnician artists, and rilievi by Persian, have been preserved, these nations could not be passed by without some mention in this history (1).

1. The Phœnicians inhabited the fairest shores of Asia and Africa on the Mediterranean Sea, besides other conquered territories; and Carthage, one of their colonies, which according to some had been founded fifty years before the conquest of Troy, was situated in a climate so steadily even, that, by the account of later travellers, the thermometer at Tunis, where that celebrated city formerly had its site, always stands at the twenty-ninth or thirtieth degree (85° or 86° Fahrenheit).

2. Hence the conformation of this people — who, as Herodotus says, were the most healthy of all men — must have been very regular, and the drawing of their figures consequently correspondent to the

conformation. Livy speaks of a young Numidian of extraordinary beauty, who was taken prisoner by Scipio in the battle with Asdrubal, near Bæcula, in Spain; and the celebrated Carthaginian beauty, Sophonisba, daughter of Asdrubal, who was first married to Syphax and afterwards to Masinissa, is familiar to all history.

3. The Phœnicians were, as Mela says, industrious, and had signalized themselves in the occupations of war and peace, as well as in the sciences, and in treatises upon them. The sciences were already flourishing among them at a time when the Greeks were an uninstructed people; and Moschus of Sidon is said to have taught the atomic theory even before the Trojan war. Astronomy and arithmetic, if not invented by them, were carried to a higher degree of excellence than elsewhere. But they are especially celebrated for their many inventions in the arts (2), and for this reason Homer terms the Sidonians great artists. We know that Solomon brought artisans from Phœnicia to build the temple of the Lord and the house of the king; among the Romans, too, the best wooden utensils were made by Carthaginian artisans; hence in their ancient writers mention is made of Punic bedsteads, windows, presses, and hinges.

4. Abundance nurtured the arts; for it is known what the prophets say of the splendor of Tyre. In this city, as Strabo relates, there were still in his time houses loftier even than those in Rome; and Appian says that in Bursa, the inner portion of the city of Carthage, the houses were six stories in height. In their temples were gilded statues, as an

Apollo at Carthage, for example; even golden columns and statues of emerald are mentioned. Livy speaks of a silver shield, a hundred and thirty pounds in weight, on which was wrought a portrait of Asdrubal, the brother of Hannibal; it was suspended in the Capitol.

5. The commerce of the Phœnicians extended through the whole world; and the productions of their artists were probably circulated in every direction. Even in Greece they had built temples on the islands, of which, in the earliest ages, they were the possessors; on the island of Thasus, the temple of that Hercules who was still older than the Greek Hercules. It would therefore be probable that the Phœnicians, who introduced the sciences among the Greeks, planted in Greece the arts also, which must have flourished among them at an earlier period, if other accounts, given above, were compatible with such a supposition. It is especially worthy of note, that Appian makes mention of Ionic columns at the arsenal in the harbor of Carthage. The Carthaginians had still greater intercourse with the Etruscans, who were among the number of the allies of the Carthaginians at the time when the latter were defeated on the sea by Hiero, king of Syracuse.

6. Winged deities are common among the Etruscans, as well as among the Phœnicians; the deities of the latter, however, are winged more after the Egyptian manner, that is to say, the wings are attached to the hips, and overshadow the figures from that point to the feet, as we see by the coins of the island of Malta, which belonged to the Cartha-

ginians; so that it might seem as if the Phœnicians had learned from the Egyptians. But the Carthaginian artists may also have been instructed, at a later period, by the Greek works of art which they carried away from Sicily, and which Scipio, after the capture of Carthage, caused to be returned.

7. But of works of Phœnician art nothing remains but Carthaginian coins, which were stamped in Spain, the island of Malta, and Sicily (3). Of the first kind, ten pieces of the city of Valencia are found in the Grand-Ducal museum at Florence, which can bear comparison with the most beautiful coins of Magna Græcia (4). The coins stamped in Sicily are so exquisite, that they are distinguishable from the best Greek coins of the kind only by the Punic letters (5); and the Bishop Luchesi, at Girgenti, possesses a few of their gold coins; they are exceedingly rare. Some of the silver coins have on the obverse the head of Proserpine, and on the reverse a horse's head together with a palm-tree; on others is the whole figure of a horse standing by a palm (6). A Carthaginian artist, by name Boethus, is cited, who executed ivory figures in the temple of Juno at Elis. Of engraved gems, two only are known to me; they are heads, and designated by the name of the individual in Phœnician letters. I have spoken of them in the *Description of the Engraved Gems in the Stosch Cabinet*.

8. Of the particulars of the clothing of their figures, the coins give as little information as do writers. As far as I remember, we do not know much more than that the garments of the Phœnicians had uncommonly long sleeves; on this account, an Afri-

can personage in the comedies at Rome was represented with such a robe; and it is believed that the Carthaginians did not wear mantles (7). Striped stuffs must have been very customary among them, as they were among the Gauls, as proved by the Phœnician tradesman among the painted figures of the Vatican copy of Terence. The epithet *discinctus*, which the poets apply to the Africans and Lybians, seems to point to the Carthaginians also, intimating that they wore their mantles "ungirdled."

9. Of art among the Jews, as neighbors of the Phœnicians, we know still less than of that of the latter. As the Phœnician artists were sent for by the Jews, even in their flourishing periods, it would seem as if the fine arts, which were regarded by them as a superfluity in the life of man, were also not practised for the very same reason. Sculpture was even forbidden by the Mosaic law, at least in regard to the representation of the deity in human form (8). The conformation of the Jews, like that of the Phœnicians, would, nevertheless, have been suitable for the expression of ideas of beauty.

10. Art must, however, have risen to a certain degree of excellence, I will not say in sculpture, but in drawing and artistic labor, notwithstanding the derogatory idea of it generally entertained among this people; for Nebuchadnezzar carried away with him, from Jerusalem alone, a thousand artists who made inlaid work; it will be difficult to find so large a number at the present day in the most populous cities. The Hebrew word signifying artists of this kind is not generally understood; and it has been absurdly translated and explained by com-



mentators as well as by lexicons, and occasionally even been entirely omitted.

11. Art among the Persians deserves some attention, because monuments of marble, on engraved gems, and of bronze, have been preserved. Those of marble are figures, wrought in relief, on the ruins of the city of Persepolis; the engraved gems are cylindrical loadstones, and also chalcedonics, having a hole bored through their axes. Besides these, which I have seen in different collections of engraved gems, there are two in the museum of Count Caylus, by whom they have been made known. On one of them five figures are cut; on the other, two; on both are ancient Persian letters, arranged under each other in a column. The Duke of Caraffa Noja, at Naples, has four stones of this kind, which were formerly in the Stosch museum; on one of these is ancient writing, also placed columnar-wise. The letters on the latter, as well as on the former, perfectly resemble those on the ruins of Persepolis. In the *Description of the Stosch Museum*, I have spoken of other Persian gems, and cited the one made known by Bianchini (9). A few gems without any letters on them have been considered as ancient Greek works by those who were ignorant of the style of Persian art; and De Wilde has supposed that he saw on one of them the fable of Aristeas, and on another a Thracian king.

12. Besides a few antique Persian coins, only a single specimen of Persian works in bronze is known to me; it is an oblong square die, an inch in length, in the museum of Mr. Hamilton. It represents a male figure, — whose head as well as face appears

to be covered with a helmet, — in the act of thrusting a sword through a lion that is rearing up in front of it; which is a usual image, also, on the gems above mentioned. A silver coin might likewise be mentioned, on which is a four-horse chariot, wherein stands a bearded figure wearing the customary Persian cap, together with another figure holding the reins; on the reverse is a ship with oars, and a few unknown letters; for this coin is supposed to have been stamped by Persian kings, prior to the age of Alexander the Great.

13. The testimony of the most ancient writers, that the Persians were well-shaped men, is also confirmed by a head, cut in relief, on a glass paste in the former Stosch museum; it wears a helmet, is of tolerable size, and is surrounded by ancient Persian writing. The conformation of it is regular, and resembles that of the Western nations, as do the heads of the figures, larger than life, wrought in relief, at Persepolis, of which drawings have been made by Bruyn. Consequently, art had every advantage that could be derived from nature. The Parthians, who occupied a large portion of the former Persian kingdom, had a special regard for personal beauty, the possessors of which were placed in authority over others; Surenas, general of King Orodes, was, in addition to other excellences, celebrated for the beauty of his shape; notwithstanding, he rouged himself.

14. But it was apparently contrary to Persian ideas of propriety to represent figures in a nude state. Nakedness had a bad signification among them; for, generally speaking, no Persian was seen without clothing. The same may also be said of the Arabians.

The loftiest aim of art, therefore, the conformation of the nude, was not attempted by their artists; the arrangement of the dress consequently became the object in view with them, not the shape of the nude body, as among the Greeks; hence it was sufficient to represent a draped figure.

15. The dress of the Persians did not, probably, differ much from that of other Eastern nations. These latter wore an under garment of linen, and over it a woollen robe; over the robe they threw a white mantle; and they were fond of wearing figured garments. The robe of the Persians, which was cut square, probably resembled the square robe, so called, of the Greek women; it had, as Strabo says, long sleeves reaching as far as the fingers, into which they thrust their hands. But as their figures have no mantles, — the folds of which can be arranged in any desired mode, — perhaps because mantles do not seem to have been a customary garment in Persia, they are shaped, apparently, after one and the same model; those which are seen on engraved gems are perfectly similar to those on their buildings. The robe of the Persian men — female figures are not found on their monuments (10) — is frequently arranged in small folds like steps; and on a gem, above mentioned, in the museum of the Duke of Noja, we can count eight such rows of folds from the shoulder to the feet; the cover of the seat of a stool, on another gem in the same museum, also hangs in similar ranges of folds or fringes down upon the trestle of the stool. A garment with large folds would have been looked upon by the ancient Persians as womanish.

16. The Persians allowed their hair to grow; and in some male figures it hangs down in front, over the shoulders, in strings or braids, as in the Etruscan figures; and they generally bound a fine cloth about their heads, a custom which has been perpetuated in the modern turban of Eastern lands. In war they usually wore a hat, shaped like a cylinder or tower; on engraved gems, caps with upturned rims, such as we see on fur caps (11), are also found.

17. Another cause of the slight progress of art among the Persians is their religious service, which was by no means favorable to art; for they believed that the gods could not or must not be figured in human form (12); the visible heavens and fire were the highest objects of their adoration; and the earliest Greek writers even maintained that they had neither temples nor altars. The Persian god, Mithras, can indeed be seen at several places in Rome, as in the Borghese, Albani, and Negroni villas, but we have no knowledge that he was represented in such a manner by the ancient Persians. It is more likely that the figures claimed to be representations of Mithras were executed by Greek or Roman artists, at Rome and during the time of the Cæsars, as the figure and execution prove. For every one sees that the artists of these two people have given to the figure of Mithras long hose and a Phrygian cap, as a distinguishing mark of a foreign divinity, this garb having been adopted in art to denote remote nations, whether to the north or to the south; hose were, it is true, common to the Persians, but not Phrygian caps, so far as we know (13). Plutarch relates that the worship of Mithras was introduced

by the Corsairs, — against whom Pompey made war, and who were ultimately extirpated by him, — and had continued ever since. But the explanation of the symbolic signs of this image has still less connection with my plan, and, besides, it has been attempted by others.

18. Though religion among the Persians did but little to stimulate the imagination, still we perceive from their works that the invention and production of ideal figures was a characteristic of art; for there are found on Persian engraved gems beasts with wings and human heads, sometimes wearing serrated crowns, and other fanciful creations and figures.

19. From the architecture of the Persians we discern that they loved a profusion of ornaments, whereby the members of their edifices, splendid of themselves, lost much of their grandeur. The large columns at Persepolis have forty grooves, but only three inches in breadth, whereas the Greek columns have not more than twenty-four, and sometimes fewer, with a breadth on a few of more than a span; while those of the temple of Jupiter at Girgenti were so large, that a stout man could put himself within them, — an assertion which the ruins confirm even at the present day. But the flutes alone did not seem to the Persians to give sufficient elegance to their columns, as figures also were wrought in relief on the upper part of them.

20. From the little which has been adduced and said of the art of the ancient Persians, we can draw this conclusion at least: that art would not have profited much, even if more monuments had been preserved. The Persians themselves seem to

have been aware of the imperfection of their artists; and this may have been the cause why Telephanes, a sculptor of Phocis, in Greece, wrought for the two Persian kings (14), Xerxes and Darius.

21. At a subsequent period, when Parthia, once a portion of the Persian empire, became a separate powerful kingdom, ruled by its own kings, art also assumed a different aspect. The Greeks, who before the time of Alexander the Great constituted the inhabitants of entire cities, even in Cappadocia, and in the earliest ages had settled in Colchis, where they were called Scythian Achæans, spread themselves abroad in Parthia also, and introduced their language into the country to such an extent that Greek plays were performed at court by order of the kings. Artabazes, king of Armenia, whose daughter was the wife of Pacorus, the son of Orodes, had even left behind him Greek tragedies, histories, and orations, written with his own hand. The favorable disposition of the Parthian monarchs towards the Greeks and their language extended itself also to their artists; and the coins of these kings, with Greek writing on them, must have been executed by Greek artists, though probably brought up and instructed in the East; for in the impression of the coins there is something strange, and, it may be said, barbaric.

22. In conclusion, two general remarks may still be subjoined in regard to the art of the Southern and Eastern nations collectively, of which this second book has treated. If we consider the monarchical form of government among the Egyptians, as well as the Phœnicians and Persians, where the ab-



solute ruler shared the highest honor with not one of the people, we can imagine that no other individual was rewarded by statues for his meritorious services to his native country, as was the case in free states, both ancient and modern; we cannot, moreover, find any account of such an expression of gratitude having been received by a subject of these kingdoms. Carthage, indeed, was a free state in the country of the Phœnicians, and was governed by its own laws; but the mutual jealousy of two powerful parties would have contested the honor of immortality to any one citizen. A general stood in danger of expiating each mistake by his head; and history makes no mention of great testimonials of honor among them. Consequently, art in these nations was mostly dependent on religion, and could derive little advantage and increase from the habits of life of the common people. The artist's conceptions were, therefore, far more limited than among the Greeks, and his genius was tied by superstition to adopted forms.

23. These three people had probably little intercourse with each other in their palmy days (15). We know this to have been the case with the Egyptians; and the Persians could have had but little commerce with the Phœnicians prior to the time of obtaining a footing on the coasts of the Mediterranean, which did not take place until late; the letters, also, of the languages of the two people were entirely different from each other. The art, therefore, of each land was probably characteristic. Among the Persians, it appears to have made the least progress; in Egypt, it tended to grandeur;

while among the Phœnicians elegance of execution was more an object of search, as we may infer from their coins. For with their commerce works of art also probably passed into other lands; it was not so with the Egyptians; and hence we may believe that the Phœnician artists wrought especially in metal, and executed works of a kind which would be generally pleasing. This may be the reason why we look upon a few small works in bronze as Greek (16), which in reality are Phœnician.

24. No antique statues are more shattered than the Egyptian, especially those of black stone. The violence of man contented itself with striking off the heads and arms of Greek statues, and tumbling from its base the remaining portion, which was broken by the fall; but the Egyptian statues, and likewise those executed by Greek artists from Egyptian stones, — as these would have suffered nothing from being thrown over, — were beaten to pieces with great violence; and the heads, which would have remained uninjured by being knocked off and flung away, were found shattered into many fragments. This violence was probably occasioned by the black color of the statues, and the idea, originating therefrom, that they were the works of the Prince of Darkness, and images of evil spirits, whom the imagination pictured as black shapes. It has occasionally happened, especially in regard to buildings, that that portion has been destroyed which, in all likelihood, time itself never would have spoiled; and that which might have suffered damage more easily, through all sorts of accidents, has remained standing, — an observation also made by Scamozzi in reference to the temple of Nerva, so called.

25. Finally, there still remain to be noticed, as something singular, a few small bronze figures, shaped in the Egyptian style, but marked with Arabic letters. Three of them are familiar to me; one of them belonged to the elder Asseman, now dead, custodian of the Vatican library; another is in the gallery of the Roman College; each of them is about a palm (8.8 in. Eng.) in height, and seated, and the latter has Arabic writing on both thighs, on the back, and on the top of the flat cap; the third — which was in the museum of the Count Caylus — is standing, and has Arabic writing on its back. The two former were found among the Druses, a tribe dwelling on Mount Lebanon; and it is probable that the third figure also may have come from the same place. They are supposed to be descendants of the Franks who took refuge there during the Crusades (17); they wish to be styled Christians, but still they worship certain idols, like those mentioned, very secretly, from fear of the Turks; and as they seldom allow the figures to be seen, they are consequently to be regarded as a rarity in Europe.



HISTORY OF ANCIENT ART.

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BOOK III.

ART OF THE ETRUSCANS AND THEIR NEIGHBORS.





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### ART OF THE ETRUSCANS AND THEIR NEIGHBORS.

#### CHAPTER I.

##### *Preliminary Remarks.*

AFTER the Egyptians, the Etruscans were the first, of the nations of Europe, to practise the arts, which began to flourish among them even at an earlier date, as it appears, than among the Greeks. Hence, the art of the Etruscans, particularly in regard to its antiquity, merits more than ordinary attention, especially as their earliest works which have been preserved give us an idea of the most ancient Greek works which resembled them, but of which none are in existence.

A thorough consideration of Etruscan art requires, first of all, a brief notice of the earliest history and form of government of this people, as well as of their temperament; because herein lie the causes of the progress of art among them. In the next place, I shall examine it, in a few of the most remarkable extant works, in reference to the characteristics

which they exhibit; and as the art of the neighboring nations bears a resemblance to that of the Etruscans, whatever we learn in regard to the latter throws light on the former.

1. The first chapter, which touches first upon the earliest history, the characters, and subsequent circumstances of the Etruscans, gives an account of the wandering of the Pelasgi to Etruria; it then passes on to a comparison of the state of things in this land with that of Greece in the earliest ages. From this comparison, it appears clear that circumstances at that time, among the Etruscans, were far more favorable to art than they were among the Greeks. But I shall chiefly attempt to show, in the first place, that, if art was not planted by the Greeks among the Etruscans, it had at least been much promoted by them. We infer this, partly from the Greek colonies which established themselves in Etruria, but yet more from the ideas drawn from Greek fable and history, which are represented by the Etruscan artists on the larger number of their works.

2. In regard to the Greek colonies which went to Etruria, we find in the ancient writers an account of two migrations, the first of which took place six hundred years prior to the other. This was the expedition of the Pelasgi who came from Arcadia, and of others who had resided in Athens. They were also called Tyrrhenians by Thucydides, Plutarch, and others, after having mentioned them under the name of Pelasgi. We may therefore infer, that the Tyrrhenians were a people who were embraced under the general name of Pelasgi. When their native land no longer had room for them, they divided into two

parts, one of them crossing over to the coasts of Asia, the other to Etruria, principally to the country about Pisa, where they gave to the land which they seized the name of Tyrrhenia. The new-comers, associating themselves with the original occupants of the country, carried on a maritime trade earlier than the Greeks did, and, being jealous of the expedition of the Argonauts to Colchis, opposed them; and having assailed them with a powerful fleet near the Hellespont, a sanguinary battle took place, in which all the Greek heroes, Glaucus excepted, were wounded. This first colony to Etruria was, probably, strengthened by later arrivals, — to say nothing of the Lydians from Asia Minor, who, after the Trojan war, likewise despatched colonies thither. But as the art of drawing does not seem to have been known, during this period, either to the Greeks or to the Etruscans, the first migration of the Tyrrhenians to Etruria is foreign to my purpose.

3. The second migration of the Greeks to Etruria took place about three hundred years after Homer's time, and the same number of years before Herodotus, according to the calculation of time given by this historian himself; that is to say, in the days of Thales and of Lycurgus, the Spartan lawgiver. Strengthened by these fresh accessions, the Etruscans spread themselves throughout Italy, even to the outmost promontories of the land, — which was afterwards named Magna Græcia, as proved by the coins of that age, in addition to the testimony of authors. Of these, I can mention, among others, one of silver in the museum of the Duke of Caraffa Noja; on one side of it, below the figure of an ox in relief, is stamped

the name of the city of Buxentium, TV+OEM, and on the other side, below an ox stamped in deep, is the name of the city of Syrinus, MONZQZM, situated on the bay of Heraclea. By the possession of such an extent of territory, the Etruscans enlarged their commerce, and extended it so far as to form an alliance with the Phœnicians. When the Carthaginians, under command of Hamilcar, as allies of the Persians, invaded Sicily, and were defeated by Gelo, king of Syracuse, they united, notwithstanding, with the fleet of the Etruscans, and fell upon the Greeks in Italy, but were repulsed with great slaughter by Hiero, successor of Gelo. It appears from a rare silver coin of the city of Faleria, with the name of the city marked on it in Greek letters, that the Etruscans openly acknowledged its Greek origin. Faleria was one of the twelve chief cities of Etruria, and the site of it could not be a matter of dispute, as Dempster asserts. For the original wall round the town, constructed without mortar, of irregular white stones, as are the ancient fortress of Præneste, and the walls of Fiesole, Terracina, and Fondi, lies about two miles from Cività Castellana, and the place is still called Falari.

4. That these new colonies introduced into Etruria their mode of writing with Greek letters, together with their mythology, and instructed the ignorant aboriginal Etruscans in their history unto the end of the Trojan war, and that through them the arts began to flourish in this land, is, in my opinion, manifest from the Etruscan works, most of which, if not all, represent the same mythology and the earliest incidents among the Greeks. For, if the

Etruscans had understood the art of writing, they would not have allowed their entire ancient history to sink into oblivion; instead of the events of Greek history, they would have represented on their monuments those of their own land, but, from the want of writing, that is, of annals, they could not have any knowledge of them.

5. In opposition to this opinion, a few Etruscan works might be cited on which the Greek heroic stories are represented in a manner differing somewhat from the way in which they are related in Homer; as, for example, the fates of Hector and Achilles, on an Etruscan patera of bronze, — where the balance is held, not by Jupiter, as the poet says, but by Mercury, — and several other incidents, of which I have made mention in my *Monuments of Antiquity*. On the patera just mentioned, which has been carried to England, the names of the figures, in the Etruscan language, are placed by them. But this deviation, instead of refuting what I have said, rather gives it additional confirmation, since the traditions of one land usually undergo some change in another; and in regard to the Etruscans, the variation may have been made by one of their poets.

6. The mythology of the Etruscan deities bears a great affinity to the Greek theology of the earliest ages, — as we see from numerous winged figures on Etruscan works. For, on the most ancient Greek representations, wings were given, according to Pausanias, to a far greater number of deities and other figures than was done by the artists of the enlightened ages of Greece. But the Etruscans gave wings not to nine divinities only, as Pliny relates; but it

is also shown in my *Ancient Monuments* that they represented almost all the other divinities as winged.

7. But the most ancient and celebrated event, in which the most powerful states of Greece participated, is the league of the Argives against the Thebans, prior to the Trojan war, or the expedition of the seven heroes against Thebes. The recollection of this war, however, has not been preserved in the same manner on Greek as on Etruscan monuments. Five of the seven, and their names in the Etruscan language, are found engraved on a carnelian of the Stosch museum. Tydeus, one of the heroes, likewise with his name in Etruscan letters, may be seen on another carnelian of the same museum. Capaneus, another hero belonging to the expedition against Thebes, is found engraved on more than one gem, — which have not less the appearance of being the workmanship of Etruscan artists, — in the act of being hurled, by a thunderbolt of Jupiter, from the ladder with which he was attempting to scale the walls of Thebes. The other Greek heroes who, with their names, have been imaged on Etruscan gems, are Theseus, when a captive to King Aidoneus, — in the possession of the Baron von Riedesel; Peleus, the father of Achilles, and Achilles himself, in the museum of the Duke of Caraffa Noja, at Naples; and on another gem Achilles and Ulysses, likewise with their names in Etruscan letters; so that we can assert that most of the monuments of Greek art which have been preserved must, in point of antiquity, yield to the Etruscan. By these representations, drawn from Greek heroic story, the Etruscan artists had not only made it their own, but they



also depicted Greek incidents of subsequent periods, — as it is proved by the Etruscan sepulchral urns of later times which have been explained by me in the *Ancient Monuments*. On them is represented the hero Echetlus, who, during the battle at Marathon, appeared on the field, a stranger to all, and, at the head of the Athenians, slew the Persians with a plough instead of weapons, and hence was called Echetlus, from the portion of a plough named ἐχέτλη, and was honored like other heroes (1). This image, which is preserved on no Greek monument, proves likewise that the Etruscan arts maintained a constant communication with those of Greece. It is probable, however, from the primeval style of the engraved gems of which mention has been made, that art flourished even earlier among the Etruscans than among the Greeks themselves. We may, also, presume this to have been the case by comparing the condition of the Greeks with the circumstances existing in Etruria at the periods subsequent to the second migration above mentioned.

8. From a few brief accounts which authors give us of the form of government of the Etruscans, showing clearly that it was uniform in its nature, we can infer — although we have to regret the loss of their earliest history — that they enjoyed profound peace after the Trojan war, whilst Greece remained in a continual state of distraction. Etruria was divided into twelve parts, each of which had its special chief, termed Lucumo, and these Lucumons were subject to a common ruler or king, — such as Porsenna appears to have been. That the constitution of the Etruscan state was of this nature may also

be shown by the repugnance displayed towards the kings of other nations. The dislike went so far, that, when the Veientes, who had previously had a republican government, elected a king, the Etruscans renounced alliance with them, and from friends became enemies. The government of Etruria appears to have been rather democratic than aristocratic; for neither war nor peace was negotiated elsewhere than in the public assemblies of the twelve tribes, composing the body of the state, which were held at Bolsena, in the temple of Vulturna. A government of this kind, in which each individual of the people participated, must necessarily exert an influence on the intelligence of the whole community, elevate their genius and perception, and render both fit for the practice of the arts. The peace, therefore, which was maintained in Etruria through the union and power of the whole people, whose rule embraced all Italy, was the most prominent cause of the flourishing condition of the arts among them.

9. Greece, on the contrary, with the exception of Arcadia, found itself, at the time of the second migration of the Pelasgi to Etruria, in the most lamentable condition; rebellions, of frequent occurrence, rent asunder the ancient constitution, and subverted the entire state. The disorder commenced in the Peloponnesus, where the Achæans and the Ionians were the principal tribes. The descendants of Hercules, in order to reconquer this portion of Greece, came with an army, composed mostly of Dorians, who dwelt in Thessaly, and drove out the Achæans, a portion of whom, in return, dispossessed the Ionians. The other Achæans, inhabitants of Lacedæmon,

and descendants of Æolus, fled at first to Thrace, and afterwards to Asia Minor, where they gave to the land of which they took possession the name of Æolia, and built Smyrna and other cities. A portion of the Ionians sought safety in Athens; another portion went to Asia Minor under the lead of Nileus, a son of Codrus, the last Athenian king, and called their settlement Ionia. The Dorians, who were masters of the Peloponnesus, cultivated neither the arts nor the sciences; they occupied themselves solely with agriculture, — *ἀγροργοί τέ γάρ εἰσι Πελοποννήσιοι*, *for the Peloponnesians are tillers of the soil.*\* But other parts of Greece were devastated and left unimproved; the sea-coasts, where trade and navigation lay, were constantly visited by pirates; and the inhabitants saw themselves compelled to remove from the sea, and abandon the fairest portion of the land. The more inland districts shared no better fate; for the inhabitants mutually drove each other from their possessions; and hence, as every one was obliged to go always armed, there was no security in cultivating the land, no quiet to think upon the arts.

10. Such was the state of affairs in Greece, when Etruria, tranquil and industrious, won and maintained for herself a degree of respect greater than was paid to any other nation of Italy; and she attracted the entire trade, not only of the Etruscan Sea, but also of the Ionian, which she confirmed by her colonies in the most fertile islands of the Archipelago, and especially in the island of Lemnos. In this flourishing condition of the ancient nation of the Etrus-

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\* Thucyd. lib. 1, c. 141, p. 93, l. 17.

cans, united with the Tyrrhenians, the arts were blooming at a time when the first essays in them in Greece had come to naught; and numerous specimens of their productions plainly show that they were executed before the Greeks themselves were able to produce any work of shapely appearance.

11. This brief sketch of the earliest history of the Etruscans reaches, however, to the period when the arts flourished among them; and, owing to the favorable external circumstances of which mention has been made, they ought to have attained the highest state of perfection. But as this point was not reached, and as an excessive degree of hardness continued to characterize the drawing of their artists, — which will be shown hereafter, — the cause of the failure apparently lay in the character and temperament of the Etruscans; at least, we must believe that subsequent circumstances obstructed the further progress of the arts among them.

12. The disposition of the Etruscans appears to have been more tinged with melancholy than was the case with the Greek race, — as we may infer from their religious services and their customs. Such a temperament is fitted to profound investigation, but it gives rise to emotions of too violent a nature, and the senses are not affected with that gentle agitation which renders the soul perfectly susceptible to beauty. This conjecture is grounded, in the first place, on the practice of soothsaying, which was invented, in the West, by this people; hence Etruria is called the mother and producer of superstition; and the books in which the art of divination was written filled with fear and terror those who had

recourse to them for advice, — so terrible were the figures and words in which they were composed. An idea of their priests may be formed from those who, in the three hundred and ninety-ninth year of the city of Rome, with flaming torches and snakes in their hands, at the head of the Tarquini, assaulted the Romans. Furthermore, we might infer a temperament of this kind from the sanguinary fights at their burials and on their arenas, which were first practised among them, and afterwards introduced also by the Romans. These combats were an abhorrence to the refined Greeks (2), as I shall notice more fully in the following book (3). Even the self-inflicted scourging of modern times was an invention of Tuscany. Hence on Etruscan sepulchral urns are commonly seen representations of bloody fights over the dead (4). Roman funeral urns, on the contrary, rather have pleasing images, because the greater number were probably executed by Greeks. Most of them are fables, allusive to human life; agreeable representations of death, as in the sleeping Endymion on numerous urns; the Naiades carrying off Hylas (5); dances of the Bacchantes, and festivities, as, for example, the beautiful *Marriage of Peleus and Thetis*, in the Albani villa (6). Scipio Africanus desired that his friends would drink at his grave; and among the Romans (7) dancers preceded the dead body.

13. But the prosperity of the Etruscans did not last long enough to enable them to overcome Nature, and her influence upon art. Soon after the establishment of the Republic at Rome, they were engaged in bloody and unsuccessful wars with the

Romans; and a few years subsequent to the death of Alexander the Great, the entire country was subdued by their enemies; and even their language, after disguising itself little by little with the Roman, became lost. Etruria was converted into a Roman province after the last king, Ælius Volturinus, fell in battle near the sea of Lucumo, — events which happened in the four hundred and seventy-fourth year of the building of Rome, and in the one hundred and twenty-fourth Olympiad. Shortly afterwards, namely, in the four hundred and eighty-ninth year of the Roman reckoning of time, and in the one hundred and twenty-ninth Olympiad, Volsinium, now Bolsena, “a city of artists,” — as the name, by some derived from the Phœnician, signifies, — was taken by Marcus Flavius Flaccus, and from this city alone two thousand statues were carried to Rome; and it is probable that other cities also were stripped in a similar manner.

14. We may from this fact understand how it happened that Rome, in former times, in addition to an incredible number of Greek statues, was also filled with Etruscan works; and how it happens that discoveries of such objects are still continually making. Art, however, continued to be practised among the Etruscans at the time when they were subject to the Romans, as it was among the Greeks, since the latter suffered a common fate with them, as it will be shown hereafter. Of Etruscan artists we find no account by name, with the sole exception of Mnesarchus, the father of Pythagoras, who was a gem-engraver, and is said to have been a native of Thuscia or Etruria.



## CHAPTER II.

### *Conformation of Gods and Heroes, peculiar to the Etruscans.*

AFTER these preliminary remarks, I proceed to treat particularly the art of the Etruscans, and, in order to prepare the way for a more exact study and determination of its characteristics, I shall in the first place point out the peculiar conformation of the figures, especially of their deities. In the next place, I shall consider the most remarkable works, and by means of them be enabled to establish two different periods in the style of their artists. The chapter, therefore, is divided into two parts; namely, one on the images of the deities and heroes, and the other a notice of the principal works.

1. In regard to the configuration and forms, together with the different attributes, of the Etruscan deities, it is not to be denied that the Greeks and the Etruscans agree in the greater number of instances, — a fact which indicates at once that the former colonized among the latter, and that a certain degree of intercourse was constantly kept up between them. There are, however, other conformations of the deities, which are peculiar to the Etruscans.

2. To us the representation of several of the Etruscan divinities appears strange; but there were strange and extraordinary shapes among the Greeks also, as proved by the figures on the Box of Cypselus, of which Pausanias gives a description. As the heated and undisciplined imagination of the earliest poets sought for strange figures, and those which would make more impression upon the rude men of the times than pictures of beauty and tenderness,—partly to excite attention and wonder, and partly to arouse the passions,—so too, and for the same reasons, Art also in her infancy shaped forms of a similar kind. The conception of a Jupiter, enveloped in the dung of horses and other animals,—as he is represented by the poet Pampho, who lived before Homer,—is not more strange than is, in the art of the Greeks, the image of Apomyos or Muscarius, whose figure is borrowed from a fly, so that the wings form the beard; the belly forms the face; and on the head, in the place of hair, is the head of the fly. He is represented in this shape on an engraved gem of the former Stosch museum, of which an engraving may be found in the *Ancient Monuments*.

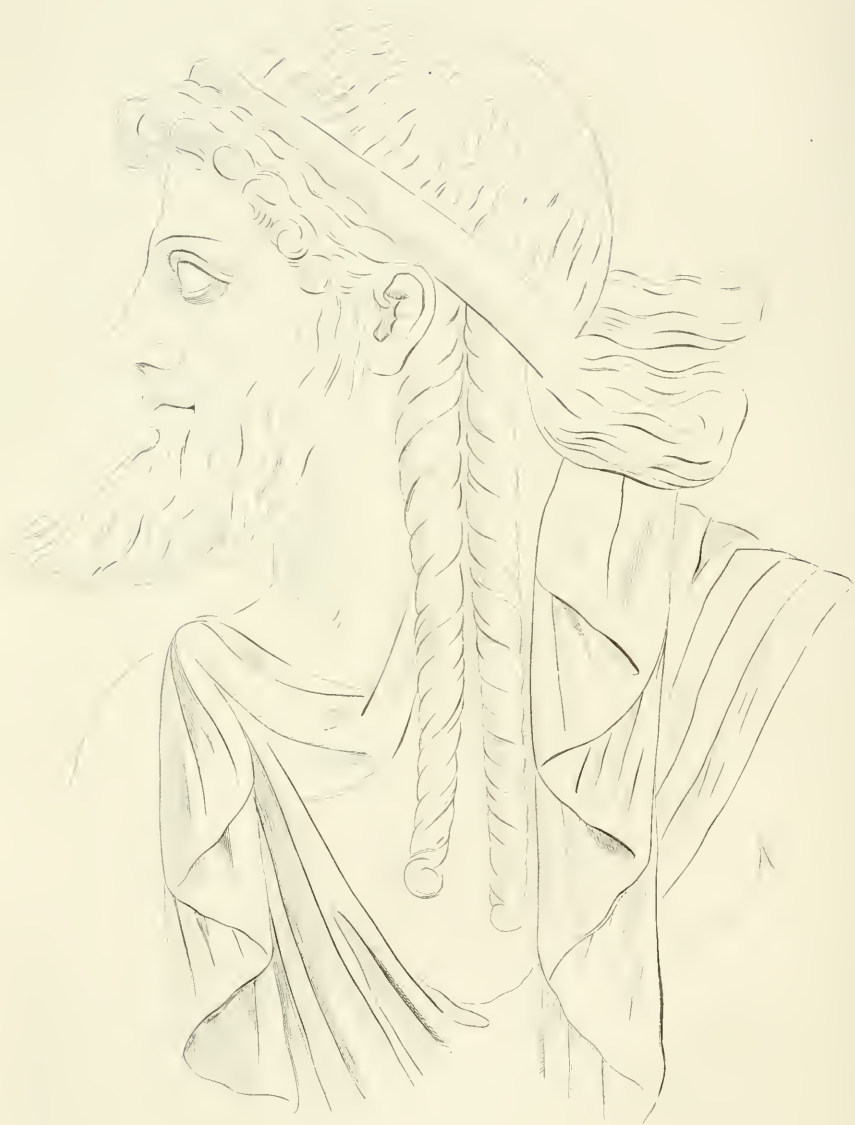
3. The Etruscans formed noble conceptions and figures of the superior deities. I shall speak, in the first place generally, and afterwards particularly, of the attributes assigned to them. Wings are an attribute belonging to almost all the Etruscan divinities. Jupiter, on an Etruscan gem of the Stosch museum, has them; also on a glass paste and on a carnelian of the same museum, when he appears in his glory to Semele. Among the earliest Greeks Diana was winged; so too was she among the Etrus-

cans; and the wings which have been given to the nymphs of this goddess, on a sepulchral urn in the Campidoglio, as well as on a rilievo in the Borghese villa, are probably derived from the most ancient images of them. Minerva, among the Etruscans, has wings not only on the shoulders, but also on the feet; and an English writer mistakes much when he asserts that not a single instance of a winged Minerva is to be found, nor even a mention of one by authors. Venus has, likewise, been represented with wings. The Etruscans attached wings to the heads of other deities, as Cupid, Proserpine, the Furies. Many winged Genii are seen on Etruscan funeral urns, especially of the subterranean graves of the very ancient Etruscan city of Tarquinium, near Corneto, of which I shall give an account hereafter. Among others, we see there a winged Genius, — who stands leaning on a crooked shepherd's staff, in conversation with a clothed female figure, — and two serpents, which raise themselves from the ground towards the Genius. The male figure might denote Tages, who was a Genius, or, as Festus says, a son of a Genius, and who, as the myth of the Etruscans related, sprang forth from a ploughed field. This Tages is said to have taught the Etruscans the art of divination, which they assiduously cultivated earlier than any other people; and the snakes seem to convey an allusion to the same circumstance. I do not, therefore, believe that a bronze child with a bulla about his neck can represent Tages, as Buonarroti supposes, because he has no wings. It is singular that the Etruscan Genii are nude, with the exception of a cloth which has fallen down upon the hips, and covers the abdomen

and the private parts, and half of the thighs. As neither the Genii on Greek works, nor on the Etruscan vases, so called, are thus represented, it may be regarded as one proof that these vases were not pictorially embellished by Etruscan artists. Even cars are found made with wings; but this, too, the Etruscans had in common with the Greeks; for Euripides gives to the Sun a winged car, and on the coins of Eleusis Ceres sits in a car of this kind, drawn by two serpents. Fable also speaks of another winged chariot belonging to Neptune, which Idas received through the aid of Apollo(1), for the purpose of carrying off Marpessa.

4. The Etruscans also armed nine divinities with the thunderbolt, as Pliny informs us; but neither he nor any one since tells who they are. But if we assemble together the deities who were thus fashioned by the Greeks, we shall find the number to be the same. Among the gods, in addition to Jupiter, the thunderbolt was also an attribute of that Apollo who was worshipped at Heliopolis, in Assyria; and he is so represented on a coin of the city of Thyrra, in Acarnania. Mars battling with the Titans, on an antique glass paste, and Bacchus on an engraved gem, — both of which are in the Stosch museum, — have the same; with this attribute Bacchus is also seen on an Etruscan patera. Vulcan and Pan, in two small bronze figures, in the museum of the Roman College, and Hercules on a coin of Naxos, have the same emblem. Among the goddesses, the thunderbolt is attributed to Cybele, and to Pallas on coins of Pyrrhus, and also on other coins, and in a small figure of her in marble in the Negroni villa.







I might also mention Cupid, on the shield of Alcibiades, holding the thunderbolt.

5. Of unusual modes of representing individual deities, I will mention, among the gods, Apollo with a hat thrown from his head backward upon his shoulders, just as Zethus, the brother of Amphion, is represented on two rilievi in Rome, — probably in allusion to his employment as a shepherd in the service of King Admetus; for those who cultivated the fields or lived in the country wore hats. In this manner the Greeks probably represented Aristæus, the son of Apollo and Cyrene, by whom they were instructed in the management of bees; for Hesiod terms him the Field Apollo. The hats were white. On a few Etruscan works Mercury has a pointed beard, which curves forwards. This is the most ancient form of their beards, — as I will show hereafter, — and Mercury is seen, with a beard so shaped, on a small round altar in the Campidoglio, and on a three-sided one in the Borghese villa.\* The most ancient Greek statues of Mercury were also probably shaped in this manner; for a beard of this kind, only wedge-like, that is, broad and pointed like a wedge, was continued in their Hermæ. Mercury is also found, on undoubted Etruscan gems, with a helmet on his head. Among other emblems attributed to him is a short sword, shaped like a sickle, and resembling the one generally held by Saturn, with which he emasculated his father, Uranus; and this was the shape of the swords with which the Lydians and Carians in the army of Xerxes were armed. The

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\* Plate X.

sword in the hand of Mercury contained an allusion to the decapitation of Argus; for on a gem of the Stosch museum with Etruscan writing, he holds, at the same time, the sword in his right hand, and in his left the head of Argus, from which drops of blood are falling. But a small bronze Mercury, a span high, in the museum of Mr. Hamilton, Minister from Great Britain at Naples, is altogether extraordinary; for it is armed with a coat of mail, which has the usual pendants on its lower edge, but the thighs and legs are bare. This representation, like the helmet on the head of a statue of Mercury at Elis, points to his battle with the Titans, in which, according to Apollodorus, he was armed. Moreover, on a carnelian of the former Stosch museum, this deity is seen with a whole tortoise, which rests on his right shoulder in a manner resembling a hat that has fallen from the head. This image I have published in my *Ancient Monuments*, where I also make mention of a head of the same deity, of marble, which bears a tortoise, partly because a figure with such a covering of the head is likewise found represented at Thebes, in Egypt.

6. Among goddesses, a Juno, on the three-sided altar above mentioned, in the Borghese villa, is especially deserving of note, because she holds with both hands a pair of large tongs (2); and she was thus represented also by the Greeks. The figure is that of a Juno Martialis, a warlike Juno; and the tongs probably contained an allusion to a particular manner of forming the order of battle to make an attack, which was called *forceps*; and it was a saying, "To fight like a pair of nippers," *forcipe et serra*

*præliari*, when an army so opened in fighting as to enclose the enemy between, and was able to execute the same opening, if, whilst engaged in fighting in front, it should be assailed in the rear. Venus was figured with a dove in her hand; and in this manner she stands, draped, on the above-mentioned triangular altar. On the same work is another figure of a draped goddess, with a flower in her hand (3), which might indicate another Venus; for she holds a flower in a round work in the Campidoglio, described below; she is also represented in this manner on the base of one of the two beautiful triangular candelabra which were in the Barberini palace; these, however, are Greek productions. But a statue with a dove, which Mr. Spence thinks he saw in Rome, not long before my day, is now at least no longer here. He is inclined to hold it as a Genius of Naples, and quotes two passages from a poet in regard to it. Some one adduces also a small figure in the gallery at Florence, supposed to be an Etruscan Venus, with an apple in the hand; perhaps the case is the same with the apple as with the violin of a small bronze Apollo in the same gallery, about the age of which Addison ought not to have been in doubt, for it is evidently a modern addition. The three Graces are seen draped, as with the earliest Greeks, on the oft-cited Borghese altar; they have taken hold of each other, and are apparently engaged in dancing. Gori supposes that he finds them in a nude state on a patera.

7. After these remarks upon the Etruscan images of the deities, I will endeavor, in the second portion of this chapter, to designate the principal works of

Etruscan art, and thereby be enabled to form a conclusion as to the drawing itself and the style of the artists. But I am forced to regret that our knowledge in this respect is so deficient, that we cannot always venture to distinguish the Etruscan from the earliest Greek. For on the one hand we are in doubt on account of the similarity between Etruscan and Greek works; and on the other, there are a few works, which have been discovered in Tuscany, that resemble Greek works of a good age (4). It may here be observed, first of all, that antique Etruscan works differ from the Greek in this particular; namely, very many of the former, especially engravings on bronze or gems, have the name placed by the figures, whether the figures be of gods or of heroes, — a practice not usual among the Greeks when the arts were in their bloom. The contrary, indeed, is seen on a few engraved gems; among them I remember a small onyx, in the museum of the Duke of Caraffa Noja, on which, near a figure of Pallas, is written  $A\Theta H \Theta H A$ , the goddess Pallas. But the shape of the letters, and the figure itself, point to a period when art was at a very low stage, when artists began to put around figures more than one row of letters.

8. The works to be pointed out consist of figures and statues, rilievi, engraved gems, engraved work on bronze, and paintings.

9. The word *figure*, as used here, includes the smaller images of bronze, and also animals. The former are not rare in museums, and I possess several myself. Among them are found pieces, by their shape and conformation belonging to the earliest age of







Etruscan art, as it will be shown in the next section. Of the animals, the largest and most important is a Chimæra,\* of bronze, in the gallery at Florence, which is composed of a lion of natural size and a goat; the Etruscan writing (5) on it proves it to have been the work of an Etruscan artist.

10. The statues, that is, figures of or under life-size, are some of them of bronze, and some of them of marble. Of bronze, there are two statues which are Etruscan, and two reputed to be Etruscan. The former have indisputable marks of their origin; one of them is in the Barberini palace; it is about four palms (2 ft. 11 in. Eng.) in height, and is probably a Genius (6); hence a cornucopia has been put into the hand in modern times. The second statue, which is in the gallery at Florence, is presumed to be an Haruspex (7); it is dressed like a Roman senator; and on the hem of the mantle is engraved Etruscan writing. † The former figure belongs, undoubtedly, to the earliest ages; the latter is of a later date, as we may conjecture from the smooth chin, and understand from the workmanship. We see that it is copied from life, and represents a particular individual; it would, therefore, if it had been made in earlier times, have had a beard (8), since the beard at that time was universally worn among the Etruscans, as it was by the most ancient Romans. The other two statues of bronze, in regard to which it would be doubtful to decide between Grecian and Etruscan art, are a Minerva and a presumed Genius, both of the size of life. The lower half of the Mi-

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\* Plate XI.

† Plate XII.

nerva is very much injured (9); but the head, together with the breast, is in perfect preservation, and the shape of the head wholly resembles the Greek. The place where it was discovered, namely, Arezzo in Tuscany, is the sole ground for conjecturing it to be the production of an Etruscan artist. The Genius represents a young man of the size of life, and was found in the year 1530, at Pesaro, on the Adriatic (10). Now as this city was a Greek colony, we might suppose that Greek statues would be discovered there rather than Etruscan. Gori, indeed, imagines that he recognizes in the workmanship of the hair an Etruscan artist, and he compares, somewhat inappropriately, the manner in which it lies with that of fish-scales; but the hair on a few heads of hard stone and of bronze, in Rome, as well as on some Herculaneum busts, is wrought in precisely the same way. This statue is, however, one of the most beautiful of the bronze statues which have come down to us from antiquity.

11. It is not easy to pass a decided opinion upon those marble statues which seem to be Etruscan, because they may possibly belong to the earlier period of Greek art; and the probability always inclines more in favor of the latter than of the former. Hence an Apollo of this kind in the Capitoline museum, and another statue of the same deity in the Conti palace, — which was discovered about forty years ago, during the popedom of one of this family, in a small temple at the foot of the promontory of Ciræum, now called Mount Circello (11), situated between Nettuno and Terracina, — may, with more certainty, be regarded as very ancient





Greek productions than as Etruscan (12). These two statues of Apollo are somewhat larger than life, and have quivers which are suspended on the trunks of the trees against which they stand. Both are executed in the same style, with the difference only that the former appears to be more antique; at least the hair over the forehead is arranged in small ringlets, whereas in the other it is executed with greater freedom. Neither will I undertake to assert that a figure, wrongly called a Vestal, in the Giustiniani palace (13), which probably is among the very oldest statues in Rome, or a Diana in the Herculaneum museum, which has every mark of Etruscan style, was executed by artists of this nation rather than by Greeks. In regard to the Vestal, so called, it is scarcely credible that such a figure, of which the feet are not even to be seen, was carried from Greece to Rome, when, from the statements of Pausanias, it is evident that the most ancient works in Greece were left undisturbed. The Diana of the Herculaneum museum is represented in motion, as are most of the figures of this goddess. The corners of the mouth are turned upwards, and the chin is rather small; but we see plainly that it is not intended to be a portrait, or to represent any individual, but that it is an imperfect configuration of beauty; nevertheless, the feet are uncommonly elegant, and none of more beauty are found on undoubted Greek figures. Over the forehead, the hair hangs in small locks; on the temples, it falls in long strings down upon the shoulders; but it is tied behind at a distance from the head, which is surrounded by a diadem, whereon

are eight red roses, wrought in relief. The dress is painted white. The chemise or under-garment has wide sleeves, which are laid in crimped or pinched folds, and the short mantle, as well as the robe, in smoothed parallel folds. The outer edge of the hem of the mantle is bordered by a narrow golden-yellow stripe, and directly above it passes a broader stripe of an orange color, with white flower-work, to denote embroidery; above this is a third stripe, also orange; and the hem of the robe is painted of the same color. The strap of the quiver on the shoulder, which passes from the right shoulder across the chest, is red, like the straps of the sandals. This statue stood in a small temple, belonging to a villa of the ancient ash-buried city of Pompeii.

12. The presumption of Etruscan workmanship would apply with the greatest probability to a statue of a priest, so called, larger than life, and ten palms (7 ft. 3 in. Eng.) in height, in the Albani villa, which has remained uninjured, with the exception of the arms; these are a restoration. The attitude is perfectly upright, with the feet standing close to each other. The folds of the robe, which is without sleeves, all lie parallel, and as if they were smoothed upon one another. The sleeves of the under garment are laid in crimped pressed plaits. I shall notice this sort of dress at the end of the following chapter, and more fully hereafter, in connection with female dress. The hair above the forehead lies in small curled ringlets, resembling snail-shells, in the manner in which it is usually executed on the heads of Hermæ; it hangs down in







front, over the shoulders on each side, in four long serpentine bands; behind — where it is cut off perfectly even, and tied at a distance from the head — it falls down below the tie in five long locks, which lie together, and have the shape in some degree of a hair bag, about a palm and a half in length. A statue in the Mattei villa, which represents a woman far advanced in pregnancy, — probably a patroness of women in pregnancy or labor, as was Juno, too, — is also executed in a style very nearly resembling that of the priest, as it is called. It stands with the feet close together, in a straight direction, and parallel to each other, and supports her belly with both hands crossed. The folds of the dress run in a straight line, and are not hollowed underneath, as in the Vestal mentioned above, but only denoted by an incision.

13. Of works executed in relief, I will content myself by selecting and describing four monuments, which follow each other step-wise, and according to their ages. The first and most ancient, not only of the Etruscan, but also of all rilievi in Rome, stands in the Albani villa; a copperplate engraving of it may be seen in the *Ancient Monuments*, for the first time published by me. This work in five figures represents the goddess Leucothea,\* who was called Ino before her deification; she was one of the three daughters of Cadmus, king of Thebes; her two sisters were named Semele and Agape. Semele was, as it is well known, the mother of Bacchus, whose education was undertaken by his moth-

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\* Plate XIII.

er's sister, Ino; and the child is here represented standing upon her lap. She is sitting in a chair which is provided with a back, and also with arms, and to such a seat might even refer the epithet *Εὖθρονος*, *having a beautiful seat*, which Pindar bestows upon these daughters of Cadmus. Upon her forehead she has a kind of fillet (diadem) placed, which is shaped like a sling; that is, the band on the fore part of the head is three fingers in breadth, and is tied about the hair by means of two narrow bands on each side, thereby explaining the *Σφενδόνη*, in Aristophanes, as a kind of band worn about the head. The hair is arranged upon the forehead and temples in crimped ringlets, and hangs straight down upon the shoulders and back. Opposite to her stand three Nymphs, by whom Bacchus was reared; they are of different sizes, and the most forward of them, who is also the largest, holds the walking-strap of the young god. The heads of all five figures very much resemble those of the Egyptians in the forms of the eyes — which are narrow and turned upwards — and mouth, which likewise is turned up at the corners. Her garment is grooved with straight parallel folds, denoted by mere incisions (14), so that two lines are continually approximating each other.

14. The second rilievo of Etruscan art, of which a copperplate engraving is to be seen in my *Ancient Monuments*, is a round altar in the Capitoline museum, representing Mercury in company with Apollo\* and Diana. The drawing of the figures themselves, and especially the shape of Mercury, appears to leave

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\* Plate XIV. See Plate X., Mercury.







no doubt in this case as to the Etruscan style. For only in extant works of the Etruscans has Mercury a beard, and a beard, moreover, of the kind which we term Pantaloon's beard, because the personage so called in our comedies wears a beard, projecting forwards, of such a shape. Mercury must, however, have been represented in the oldest Greek works also, not only bearded, but even with a beard resembling that on the altar (15) of which I now speak, as may be inferred from the epithet applied to him in the writings of Pollux, which does not signify a "twisted beard," *barba intorta*, as the commentators understand it (16), but a wedge-shaped beard; and from this primeval form of a Greek Mercury, masks with such a beard seem to have been called *Ἐρμούνεια*. If any one should feel disposed, on this account, to remain in doubt, in regard to the workmanship of this altar, between the Etruscan and the earliest Greek style, it does not show that my idea is incorrect; and a knowledge of the Etruscan style can equally well be derived from it, because, as I have already pointed out, the earliest Greek drawing was similar to the Etruscan (17). The shape of the bow may here receive a passing observation, as it is curved only at the tips, the remainder of its length being almost entirely straight, just as it is shaped also on Greek works where Apollo and Hercules, each with a bow, are found together; that is, where the latter is carrying off from the former the tripod at Delphos; Hercules, however, is furnished with a Scythian bow, which was very much crooked (18), like the oldest Greek sigma.

15. The third rilievo is a four-sided altar, — formerly standing in the market-place at Albano, but now to be found in the Capitoline museum, — on which are pictured several of the labors of Hercules. It might be objected that the parts of this Hercules are, perchance, not represented more visibly and prominently than in the Farnese Hercules, and that from this circumstance we cannot infer the Etruscan origin of the work. This I must acknowledge; and I have no other distinctive mark than the beard, which is pointed, and of which, as well as of the hair of the head, the curls are signified by small rings, or rather small balls, arranged in rows, which is the most ancient style in the shape and execution of the beard.

16. The fourth, and a later, work of supposed Etruscan art is likewise found in the Capitoline museum, in the form of a round altar; and it is generally looked upon as such, since at present a large marble vase is firmly set upon it, to which it serves as a base. But in reality it is a well's mouth, *bocca di pozzo*, as is shown by the grooves worn on its inner edge by the rubbing of the cord of the bucket. Of this rilievo, which represents the twelve superior deities (19), there is a copperplate engraving in my *Ancient Monuments*.\* Besides the style of the drawing, which has all the characteristics of Etruscan art, I thought that I might draw the same conclusion from the figure of a youthful Vulcan, without a beard, who stands in the act of opening Jupiter's forehead with a hammer, in order to hasten the birth of

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\* Plate XV.; the upper half of the figure of Juno.



15. The third rilievo is a four-sided altar, — formerly standing in the market-place at Albano, but now to be found in the Egyptian museum, — on which are painted several of the scenes of Hercules. It may be objected that the pose of the Hercules and his sandals, not represented with regular and prominently clear in the Farnese Hercules, are due from this circumstance we cannot infer the true origin of the work. This I must acknowledge, and I have no other distinctive mark than the beard, which is pointed, and of which, as well as of the hair of the head, the curls are signified by small rings of curls, which have appeared to some, which by the same means appear in the sculpture, consisting of the beard.

16. The fourth and a fine piece of supposed Etruscan art is likewise found in the Egyptian museum, in the form of a round dish, and it is generally looked upon as such, since at present a large marble vase is firmly set upon it, to which it serves as a base. But in reality it is a wolf's mouth, *bocca di lupo*, as is shown by the groove worn on its circumference by the rubbing of the cord of the bowl. On the obverse, which represents the twelve superior deities (19), there is a copperplate engraving in our *Ancient Monuments*\*. Besides the style of the drawing, which has all the characteristics of Etruscan art, I observe that I might draw the same composition from the figure of a youthful Vulcan, without a total transformation of his appearance. Legend's forehead and a portion of his hair is formed by the birth of

\* Pl. III. 23. See also Pl. II. of the figure of Juno.







Pallas from his brain; for he is represented at such an age, and without a beard, in the performance of the same office, on undoubted Etruscan gems and sacrificial cups. But this conclusion is not of universal application, since the same divinities have been represented without a beard not by the most ancient Greeks alone; for Vulcan is also seen thus on coins of the islands of Lemnos and Lipari, in the museum of the Duke of Caraffa Noja at Naples, on Roman coins, and on lamps; likewise on a beautiful Greek rilievo in the palace of the Marquis Rondinini, which represents him as having already struck the seated and pregnant Jupiter the blow that is to give birth to Pallas. A copy of the work may be seen on the title-page of the second volume of my *Ancient Monuments*. In view of the drawing, it might be objected, in opposition to such opinion, that, as we know Cicero procured from Athens wells' mouths of this kind for his country residences, the earliest Greek style might have been imitated in this case from a similar work, since the ancients embellished them with rilievi, as it appears from the well near which Pamphus, one of the earliest sculptors, represented Ceres sorrowing over the rape of Proserpine; and the objection is one not easily answered (20). But I repeat what I have already remarked in reference to the second of these works, that that, as well as this, may, on the same grounds, serve as an example of the Etruscan style.

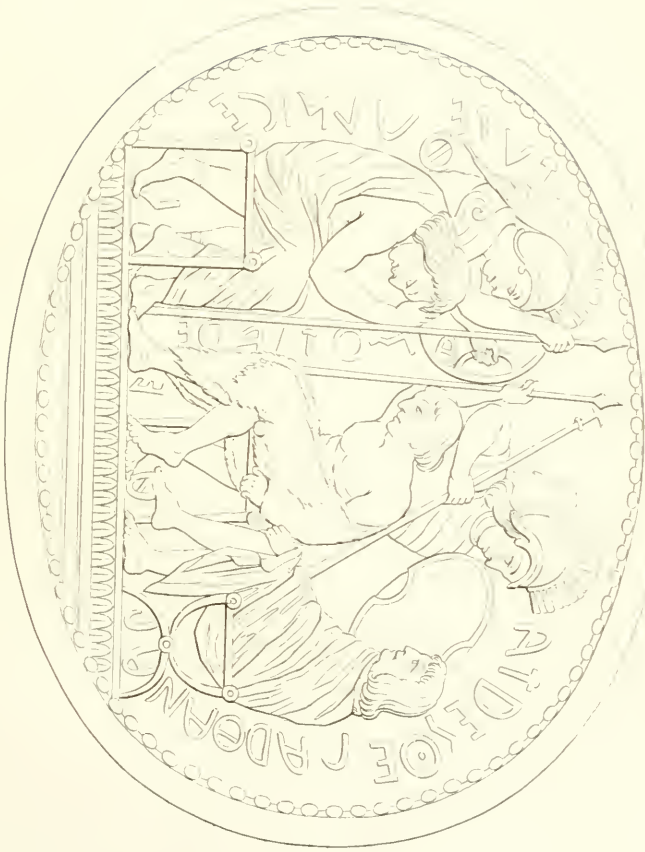
17. From the engraved gems, I have selected partly the most ancient and partly the most beautiful, in order that the reader may form from them a more correct and thorough judgment. When he

has before him works evidently of the highest Etruscan art, and which, with all their beauty, have imperfections, the remarks which I shall make upon them in the next chapter will have so much the greater force if applied to works of less merit. The three gems which I take as the basis of the following argument are, like most of the Etruscan engraved gems, Scarabæi, that is, stones having a beetle wrought on the raised and arched side of them. A hole is bored through them lengthwise; but it cannot be known whether they were worn as an amulet about the neck, or whether they were set movably in a ring; the latter is probable, from a golden pivot sticking in the hole of a stone of this kind in the Piombino museum.

18. One of the most antique engraved gems, not only among the Etruscan, but among all that are known, is unquestionably the carnelian in the Stosch museum, of which mention has already been made, representing a council of five of the seven Greek heroes in the expedition against Thebes.\* As only five heroes appear here, we might believe — in order not to allege the want of space as a reason — that the Etruscan artist had taken a particular account as his guide on this point; for as, according to Pausanias, there were more chiefs of this army than the seven introduced by Æschylus, so to others a less number than seven may have been known. The names placed by the figures show Polynices, Parthenopæus, Adrastus, Tydeus, and Amphiaraus; and both the drawing and the letters testify to the

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\* Plate XVI.





remote antiquity of the gem. The figures, in which infinite industry and great delicacy of execution are combined with elegance of form of some parts, as the feet,—which is a proof of a skilful master,—point to an age when the head was, probably, scarcely a sixth part of the height, and the letters come nearer to their Pelasgic originals and to the earliest Greek letters than on other Etruscan works. This gem (21), among others, is sufficient refutation of a writer who makes the unfounded assertion that the Etruscan monuments of art are works of their later periods.

19. The two other gems are, probably, the most beautiful of all the Etruscan gems. One of them, likewise a carnelian, is also in the Stosch museum; the other, of agate, belongs to Herr Christian Dehn, in Rome. The former exhibits Tydeus, with his name, in the act of drawing a javelin from his leg (22), in which he had been wounded, having fallen into an ambuscade of fifty Thebans, all of whom he slew with the exception of one.\* This figure, in the exactness with which the bones and muscles are rendered, gives a proof of the correct knowledge of anatomy possessed by the artist; but also at the same time of the hardness of the Etruscan style (23). The other gem represents Peleus, the father of Achilles, with his name, in the act of washing his hair at a fountain, which is intended to signify the river Sperchius, in Thessaly; for he had made a vow that he would cut off the hair of his son, and consecrate it to the river, if he should return

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\* Plate XVII.

in safety from Troy (24). The boys of Phigalia cut off their hair and consecrated it to the river of the place; and Leucippus allowed his hair to grow for the river Alpheus. We notice here, in reference to Greek heroes on Etruscan works, what Pindar says of Peleus in particular, that there is no land so remote, and so different in language, that the fame of this hero, the son-in-law of the gods, has not reached it.

20. The Etruscan artists, next to their skill in gem-engraving, have displayed their dexterity in engraving bronze, of which numerous pateræ give proof. This utensil, which we term a sacrificial basin, was used in pouring a libation either of water, or wine, or honey, partly on the altar, and partly on the victim, and is of different forms. Those which we see figured in sacrifices, on Roman rilievi, are for the most part proper round cups without handles; yet on such a work in the Albani villa a patera is found, shaped after the Etruscan fashion, like a flat plate, and having a handle; but in the Herculaneum museum, many pateræ, which are deep cups that have been hollowed out on a lathe, have a handle, commonly terminating in a ram's head. The Etruscan pateræ, on the contrary, — those of them at least on which figures are engraved, — resemble a flat dish surrounded by a low rim, and have a handle, of such a kind, however, that it must, in most of the specimens, on account of its too great shortness, have been inserted into a handle of another material. Those pateræ which had ornaments of the plant called *filix*, in Italian *felce*, “Fern,” are termed *patera felicate*; but I know none of this







sort. Where the ornaments were of ivy, the vessels were termed *pateræ hederatæ*; most of them are ornamented in this way; and I have one of them in my possession. Engraved works like these were termed by the Greeks *κατάγλυφα*, *kataglyphs*.

21. Of the coins, a few are among the very earliest monuments of Etruscan art; and I have two of them before me which belong to an artist in Rome who has a museum of curiously rare Greek coins. They are made of a compound whitish metal, and are in very good preservation. On one side of them is an animal, which appears to be a stag; and on the other are two figures, turned to the front, which resemble each other, and hold staves. These must have been the first essays of their art. The legs are two lines, terminating in round points, denoting the feet; the left arm, which holds nothing, is slightly crooked, but from the shoulder down, a perpendicular line, and it reaches almost to the feet. The private parts are a little shorter; they are unusually long in animals also, on the earliest coins and gems. The other coin has a head on one side, and a horse on the other.

22. This notice of Etruscan works according to their kinds, as given above, is the simplest form of classification, and not connected with any system. But in reference to art, and their antiquity, according to which they are to be studied in the next chapter, they should be arranged in the following order. The coins just mentioned, the rilievo of Leucothea, and probably also the cited statue in the Albani villa, likewise the bronze Genius in the Barberini palace, and the pregnant woman in the Mattei villa, appear to belong to the earliest age and to the first style.

I consider the three goddesses on a round altar, together with the four-sided base on which are the labors of Hercules, — both in the Campidoglio, — as well as the above-mentioned large three-sided altar in the Borghese villa, and the two figures of Apollo in the Campidoglio and the Conti palace, as works of the next period, and of the second style. I also believe that the engraved gems previously described are works rather of the second than of the first style, especially if they are compared with the Leucothea. Here, too, I would also place the well-curb, in the Capitoline museum, on which are executed the twelve superior deities, if we are willing to regard it as an Etruscan work. The bronze statues above mentioned, in the gallery at Florence, as well as the greater number, if not all, of the sepulchral urns known, — most of which were discovered at Volterra, — appear, in comparison with the works just designated, to belong to the last period of Etruscan art.

23. Furthermore, Etruscan paintings require some little notice; but as no others have been preserved than those which were discovered in the ancient tombs of Tarquinii, one of the twelve chief cities of Etruria, it cannot seem a departure from my plan, if I preface it with an account of the last discovered tombs themselves.

24. All these tombs are made by digging into a soft stone, named Tufo. They are situated in a plain near Corneto, about three miles from the sea, and twelve miles on the other side of Cività Vecchia. The entrance into them is from above through a round vertical shaft, which tapers conically from within outwardly towards the aperture. In this passage-

way small holes, almost half the height of a man apart, are dug one over another, that serve as steps by which to enter the excavations; the number of such steps was usually five. In one of these tombs there is an oblong urn for the reception of the dead body, dug out of the stone itself. The vault, or ceiling, of a portion of these tombs is cut so as to resemble the frame of the ceiling in chambers; that of another portion resembles sunken squares, which are termed *lacunaria*; a few of them have ornaments around their borders. In a few others of these tombs the ceiling is cut after the fashion of the ancient pavements, composed of small square slabs of equal sides, set on the narrower edge, in the manner of fish-bones, — a kind of workmanship which is hence termed *spina pesce*. The roof is supported by square pillars, in greater or less number, proportionate to the size of the tomb; they are cut from the Tufo itself. Although these excavations were not lighted by any opening, — for the entrance from above was closed, — still, they are filled with embellishments, not only on the ceiling, but also on the walls and pillars. Among them may be noticed the ornaments, called Mæanders. A few, indeed, have a broad painted stripe, which, in this case, serves as a substitute for a frieze, extending around on all sides, and over the columns; and a few columns are covered, from the bottom to the ceiling, with large figures. These paintings are executed on a thick coating of mortar; a few of them can be discerned tolerably well; others, on the contrary, to which moisture or air has had access, have partly disappeared.

25. The paintings of one of these excavations have

been published by Buonarroti in outlines, badly drawn ; but the excavations of which I give an account are a later discovery, and the pictures contained in them are more important. Most of the friezes depict fights, or acts of violence against the life of some persons ; others represent the Etruscan doctrine of the condition of souls after death. In these we see, sometimes, two black, winged Genii, with a hammer in one hand and a serpent in the other, who are drawing, by the pole, a chariot, in which sits the figure or soul of the deceased. Sometimes, two other Genii are pounding with long hammers a naked male figure lying on the earth. Among the class of paintings first mentioned, we see, at times, regular battles between warriors, three of whom, nude figures, draw close to three others, place their round shields so as to overlap, and fight in this manner. Some warriors have square shields ; most of them are nude. In other combats, short swords, resembling daggers, are thrust into the breasts of fallen figures by some above them. An aged king, with a toothed crown around his head, is running towards such a scene of bloodshed. It is probably the oldest dentated royal crown that is found represented on ancient works. This crown shows, also, the higher antiquity of the diadem, the first use of it among the Greeks being assigned by all the more modern writers to a time posterior to the death of Alexander. Just such a toothed crown is worn by a male figure on two Etruscan sepulchral urns, which seems, likewise, to represent a king ; and also by a female figure on a vase of terra-cotta. There is also found on a Herculeum painting a nude, hovering, youthful male



figure, which holds in its hand a similar crown. On another frieze, where neither of these two kinds of conceptions is introduced, we see, among other figures, a dressed woman, having on her head a cap that widens upwards, over which, as far as the middle of it, her robe is drawn. Such a cap was termed by the ancient Greeks *πυλέων*, and it was, according to Pollux, a garb usual with women. The statue of Juno at Sparta had a similar head-dress; it is likewise seen on the Juno of Samos and of Sardis, on coins; Ceres, too, in a rilievo of the Albani villa, wears a similar cap. It may serve for further speculation, if I remark here, that, in the same place, between dancing female figures, a few are represented perfectly stiff, and after the Egyptian style. Probably these are deities, who had this, and no other, accepted shape. I say probably, because the paintings have suffered from mould, and all parts of them are, consequently, not distinguishable.

26. Among the paintings I include painted statues, — like the one in the Herculaneum museum, of which I have given a description, — and painted rilievi on funeral urns, the figures of which are covered with a white color, whereon the other colors are afterwards laid. A few of these have been published by Buonarroti.

An examination of an account of twelve urns of porphyry, which are said to have been at Chiusi, in Tuscany, but are not to be found at present, either there or elsewhere in Tuscany or Italy, will form a supplement to this chapter. They might possibly, if they ever existed, have been made of a stone bearing some resemblance to porphyry, espe-

cially as Leander Alberti gives the name of porphyry to such a stone, found at Volterra. Gori, by whom the statement is quoted from a manuscript in the library of the Strozzi family, at Florence, also communicates an inscription on one of these urns; but the account seemed to me suspicious, and I therefore procured a perfect copy from the original. The circumstance itself, and the age of the manuscript, create suspicion. It is not credible, that the Grand-Dukes of Tuscany — all of whom have given great attention to everything relating to the arts and antiquity — should have allowed such rare pieces to leave the country, especially as they were probably discovered somewhere about the middle of the previous century. Furthermore, the letters of which the Strozzi manuscript is composed were all written between the years 1653 and 1660; and the one containing this account is of the year 1657, and written by one monk to another. I therefore hold the story to be a monkish legend. Gori himself has made alterations in it. In the first place, he has not given correctly the measures of the urns, as stated. The letter mentions two braccia in height, and the same in length, — a Florentine braccia contains two and a half Roman palms (1 ft. 10 in. Eng.), — but Gori states only three palms (2 ft. 2 in. Eng.). In the second place, the inscription in the original does not look very Etruscan; but, in print, this form and appearance have been given to it.

## CHAPTER III.

### *Style of Etruscan Artists.*

HAVING, in the preceding chapters, given some introductory information in regard to the external circumstances and sources of Etruscan art, and the manner of representing the gods and heroes, and noticed some of its productions, I now direct the reader's attention to its attributes and characteristics, that is to say, to the style of the Etruscan artists. This will be the subject of the present chapter.

I will here make the general remark, that the characteristics whereby the Etruscan and the most ancient Greek style may be distinguished from each other, — which, apart from the drawing, might be derived from accidental things, as usages and dress, — may be deceptive. The Athenians, says Aristides, formed the arms of Pallas after a design which she had given them; but we cannot infer Greek workmanship from a Greek helmet of Pallas, or other figures. For Greek helmets, so called, are found even on indisputable Etruscan works; as, for example, the one worn by the Minerva on the oft-cited three-sided altar in the Borghese villa, and on a cup with Etruscan letters, in the museum of the College of St. Ignatius, at Rome.

1. The style of the Etruscan artists did not always

remain uniformly the same, but, like the Egyptian and Grecian, it had different stages and epochs, from the simple shapes of their earliest periods until the bloom of their art, when, having been subsequently improved by an imitation of Greek works, as it is very probable, it finally assumed an appearance different from that of the earlier ages. These different stages in Etruscan art are to be well noted and accurately distinguished, in order that we may arrive at some degree of systematic knowledge in regard to it. After the Etruscans had been for a considerable time subject to the Romans, their art finally declined, — a decline which is visible in twenty-nine small bronze cups in the museum of the above-mentioned college. Of this number, those on which the writing approximates to the Roman writing and language are worse drawn and executed than the more ancient ones. But, further than this, we do not learn much of a definite nature; and as art in its decline is of no style in itself, I abide by the three epochs previously determined.

We can, therefore, fix three different styles of Etruscan art, as we have already done in regard to Egyptian art, — the more ancient, the later, and the improved style, or that which has resulted from imitation of the Greeks. In all three styles it would be proper to speak, in the first place, of the drawing of the nude, and, in the second, of draped figures; but as the dress does not differ much, in its kinds, from the Greek, the few special remarks which might be needed in regard to it and its ornaments may be grouped together at the end of the chapter.

2. The most ancient style is of the time when the

Etruscans extended themselves throughout all Italy, even to the outermost promontories of Magna Græcia; and we can obtain a clear idea of the drawing of this period from the rare silver coins which were stamped in the cities of the lower part of Italy, — the richest collection of which is contained in the museum of the Duke of Caraffa Noja.

3. The attributes of the elder and first style of the Etruscan artists are, in the first place, the straight lines of their drawing, together with the stiff attitudes and constrained action of their figures, and, in the second place, their imperfect idea of beauty of the face. The first attribute consists in this, that the outline of the figures sinks and swells but little; the consequence is, the figures look thin and spindle-like, — notwithstanding Catullus says “the stout Etruscans,” — because the muscles are slightly marked. This style is, consequently, deficient in variety. The cause of the stiffness in the attitudes is to be found partly in the mode of drawing, but principally in the ignorance of the earliest ages; for variety in position and action cannot be expressed and figured without sufficient knowledge of the body, and without freedom in drawing. Art, like wisdom, begins with self-knowledge.

4. The second attribute, namely, an imperfect conception of beauty of face, was common to the Etruscans, even as it was to the Greeks in the infancy of their art. The form of the head is an elongated oval, which a pointed chin causes to seem rather small; the opening of the eyes is narrow, and turned obliquely upwards; the eyes lie on a level with the eyebrow-bones; and the corners of the mouth are likewise turned upwards.

These attributes are precisely the same with those which we defined as belonging to the earliest Egyptian figures; and, thus, the statements which we made in the first chapter, derived from ancient authors, in regard to the similarity of Egyptian and Etruscan figures, become gradually more intelligible. We must conceive of the figures of this style as of a robe made simply with strait breadths, to which they who made it, and they who wore it, adhered for a long time. The former did not refine upon it; the latter found it sufficient for a covering. The first artist drew a figure in a certain style; others followed him. A certain cast of countenances, also, was adopted, from which the artist departed so much the less, that the earliest images were figures of the deities, each one of which must resemble another. Art, at that time, was like a bad system of instruction, which makes blind followers, and admits neither doubt nor inquiry. And drawing was like Anaxagoras's sun, which he and his scholars maintained to be a stone, in defiance of all perceivable evidence. Nature should have taught the artist; but custom had become nature to him, and hence the difference between art and nature.

5. This first style is found in many small bronze figures, in addition to the coins mentioned; and some of them perfectly resemble the Egyptian in the arms and feet, the former hanging down close to the sides, and the latter being placed parallel to each other. The statue in the Mattei villa, as well as the rilievo of Leucothea in the Albani villa, has all its characteristics. The drawing of the Genius in the Barberini palace is very flat, and without any special



marking of the parts; the feet stand on an even line, and the excavated eyes are opened flat, and drawn somewhat upwards. The robes of the statue in the Mattei villa, and of the figures on the rilievo, cannot be conceived in a more simple manner; the folds, which are mere incisions, seem as if they were drawn with a comb. An attentive observer of the essential in antiquities will find this style also in a few other works in Rome, but not located in places equally celebrated and usually visited; for example, on a male figure, seated on a stool, in a small rilievo in the court-yard of the Capponi mansion.

6. Notwithstanding all this want of skill in the drawing of figures, the earliest Etruscan artists attained, in their vases, to the knowledge of elegance of forms; that is, they had learnt that which is simply ideal and scientific, and had, on the contrary, continued deficient in the excellence acquired by imitation. This fact is shown by many vases, the drawing of the pictures on which indicates the very earliest style; and here I am able to adduce, in particular, a vase in the first volume of the *Hamilton Collection*, the front side of which presents a male figure, in a two-horse chariot, between two standing figures; on the back side, two other figures on horseback are painted. But still more remarkable is a vase of bronze, about a Roman palm and a half (13 in. Eng.) in diameter, which was once gilded, and on the belly of which the most pleasing ornaments are engraved. On the middle of the cover of it stands a nude male figure, half a palm (4.4 in. Eng.) in height, with a discus in the right hand;

and on the rim are attached three smaller figures on horseback, one of which is riding, the other two are sitting sidewise on the horses; and both the figures and the horses are executed in the most ancient style. This vase was discovered about five years ago, in the vicinity of ancient Capua. When found, it was full of ashes and bones. It is now in the possession of the royal intendant, the Chevalier Negroni, at Caserta.

7. But the Etruscan artists forsook this style, when they had attained a greater degree of knowledge. In the earliest ages they appear to have made more draped than nude figures, like the most ancient Greeks; but they now began to represent more frequently the nude. For it appears from some small figures of bronze, naked as far as the private parts, — which are concealed in a bag, tied by strings about the hips, — that it was considered contrary to decorum to represent figures entirely nude.

8. If we were disposed to judge from the earliest engraved gems of the Etruscans, we should believe that the first style had not been generally adopted, at least among the gem-engravers. For the rendering of figures on gems is knobby and globular, — characteristics which are the opposite of those mentioned as belonging to the first style; but one does not contradict the other. If their gems were engraved on a wheel, in the manner of the present day, as the appearance of them seems to show, then the easiest way of using the lathe was to work out and produce a figure by spherical forms; and the most ancient gem-engravers probably did not understand how to work with very pointed tools. Spher-

ical forms, therefore, were not an elementary principle of art, but a mechanical process in execution. The engraved gems of their earliest times, however, are the opposite of their most ancient figures in marble and bronze; and it is manifest from the former, that the improvement in art commenced with a strong degree of expression, and with a visible marking of the parts in their figures; this is also evident in some works of marble; and it is the characteristic of the most flourishing period of their art.

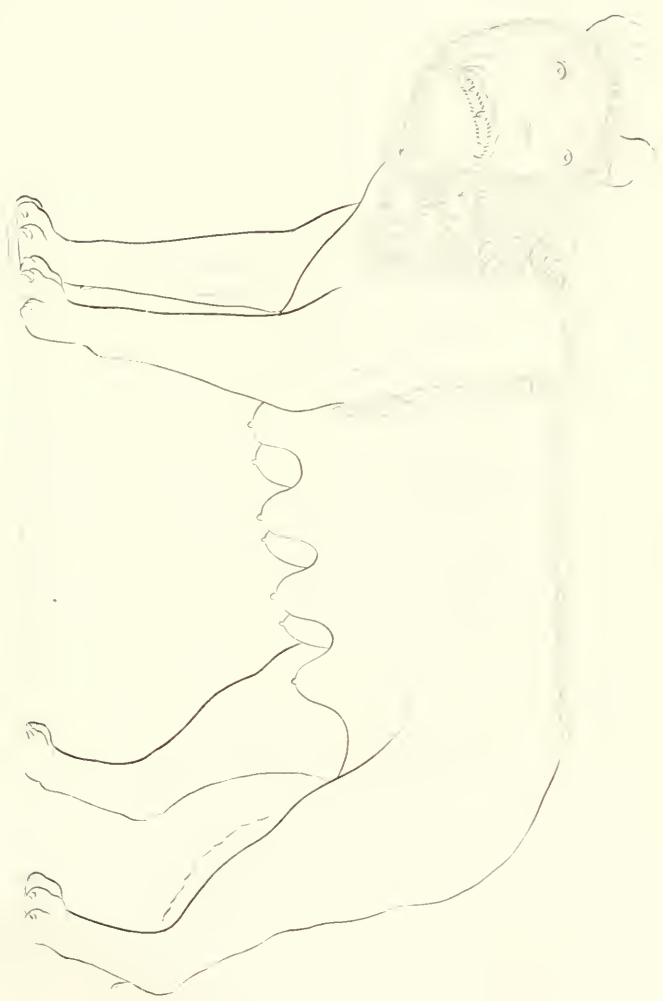
9. We are unable to determine, with any precision, the time when this style was perfectly formed; but it is probable that it coincided with the improvement of Greek art. For we may look upon the time preceding and during the age of Phidias, as upon the restoration of the arts and sciences in more modern days, which did not commence in one country only, and afterwards spread itself abroad into other lands; but man's entire nature appeared to be astir, at that epoch, in every land, and great inventions started up at once. In regard to Greece, at the period mentioned, this is true of all kinds of knowledge; and it seems as if a universal spirit, which exerted an influence especially on art, inspiring and animating it, had also diffused itself, at that time, over other civilized nations.

10. We pass, therefore, from the first and more ancient Etruscan style to the second and subsequent. Its attributes and marks are, in part, a perceptible signification of the joints and muscles, and the arrangement of the hair in rows, and partly a constrained attitude and action, which in some figures

is violent and exaggerated. In regard to the first attribute, the muscles are tumidly raised, and lie like hills; the bones are sharply drawn, and rendered altogether too visibly; hence, the style is hard and painful. But we must remark, that both modes of this attribute, namely, the strong marking of muscles and of bones, are not found constantly together in all sorts of works. In marble the muscles are not always very artificial, because only divine figures have been preserved; but exaggeration, especially in the drawing of the leg-bone, and a sharp and hard outline of the muscles of the calf of the leg, are visible in all of them.

It may be established as a rule, generally, that the Greeks studied more the expression and marking of the muscles; but the Etruscans, of the bones. If, therefore, I criticise a rare and beautifully engraved gem, with this fact before me, and see bones too strongly rendered, I am inclined to regard it as Etruscan, although in other respects it would do honor to a Greek artist. It represents Theseus, after having slain Phæa, — of which Plutarch makes mention. Twenty years ago, this carnelian was in the royal Farnese museum, at Capo di Monte, in Naples; but since that time it has been stolen; and other beautiful gems have disappeared, both before and since, from the same place. In the Stosch museum there is a carnelian on which the same conception is engraved; but the stone is stated to be a chalcedony. The former gem can also serve as an instance of the difficulty of deciding between Etruscan and Greek works of the elder style.

11. The arrangement of the hair in rows, not of







the head only, but also of the pubis, is found, without an exception too, on all Etruscan figures, even those of beasts, — as we may notice on the celebrated she-wolf of bronze, in the Campidoglio, giving suck to Romulus and Remus.\* As this is probably the same she-wolf which, in the time of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, stood in a small temple on the Palatine hill, — that is, in the temple of Romulus, now called Santo Theodoro, in which it was discovered, — and as it, according to the same writer, was held to be an ancient work of art, *χάλκεα ποιήματα παλαιᾶς ἐργασίας*, it must consequently be regarded as a production of Etruscan artists, whom the Romans, in their earliest existence, employed. Cicero says of a she-wolf of this kind, that it had been injured by lightning, — an accident which occurred during the consulship of Julius Cæsar and Bibulus (1); and an injury of such a nature on the hinder leg — where there is a burst fissure two fingers in breadth — of the animal of which we now speak, seems to prove it to be the same one. Dion Cassius says, indeed, in the passage quoted, that the she-wolf which was struck by lightning stood on the Capitol; but this assertion may be a mistake, as the writer lived two hundred years afterwards. I wish, however, to observe in this place that only the she-wolf is ancient; the two children are a modern addition.

12. The second characteristic of this style cannot be comprehended in a single idea; for constraint and violence are not one and the same. The latter

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\* Plate XIX.

relates not only to attitude, action, and expression, but also to the movement of all parts; the former may, it is true, be said of the action, but it also consists with the quietest position. Constraint is the opposite of naturalness; and violence is the reverse of decency and decorum. The former is an attribute also of the first style; but the latter belongs particularly to the second. Exaggeration in attitude flows from the first attribute; for, in order to obtain the desired strong expression, and the visible marking of the bones and muscles, the figure was placed in attitudes and actions in which they could be most strikingly manifested; and the artist chose exaggeration instead of repose and stillness; and feeling was, as it were, blown up, and swelled to its utmost limits.

13. The remark which I have just made in general terms may be illustrated, particularly, by individual figures and works; and I refer the reader especially to Tydeus and Peleus, and also to a bearded Mercury on the oft-mentioned Borghese altar, who has the muscles of a Hercules. The collar-bones of these small figures, the ribs, the cartilages of the elbow and knees, and the joints of the hands and feet, are rendered as prominently as the bones of the arms and legs; in regard to Tydeus, even the point of the breast-bone is made visible. All the muscles are in the most violent action, even those of Peleus, in whose case there is less reason for it than with Tydeus, of whom even the muscles under the arm are not forgotten. The constrained position shows itself on the round altar before mentioned, in the Capitoline museum, and in

several figures on the Borghese altar. Here, the feet of the goddesses placed in front are set close and parallel to each other; and the feet of those who are seen sidewise stand in a straight line one behind the other. The action of the hands, generally of all figures, is constrained and unlearned, so that, when anything is held in the fore-fingers, the others stick out stiff and straight. Notwithstanding the great knowledge and skill in execution possessed by the Etruscan artists, they were deficient in conceptions of beauty; for the head of Tydeus is designed after a common conformation, and the head of Peleus, not finer in form, is twisted as much as his body out of its natural shape.

14. The remark made by Pindar in regard to Vulcan, "that he was born without grace," might be applied, in some measure, to the figures of this style as well as of the first. Generally, this second style, compared with the Greek style of a good period, might be looked upon as a young man who has not enjoyed the advantages of a careful education, and whose desires and exuberant spirits, which impel him to acts of excess, have been left unchecked, — as such one, I say, when compared with a beautiful youth in whom a wise education and skilful instruction will control the ardor of the passions, and impart, by refinement of demeanor, greater elevation even to the admirable conformation of nature. This second style is, also, to be termed mannered, as we now say, — an expression which means nothing else than a constant uniformity of character in all sorts of figures; for Apollo, Mars, Hercules, and Vulcan, on Etruscan works, do not differ in

drawing. Now, as a character always one and the same is no character, we might apply to the Etruscan artists the censure which Aristotle made of Xeuxis, namely, that they had no character; and we find the same fault to censure in the eulogies of celebrated persons, written in the modern style, in the histories of our time, — being usually composed in so indefinite and general a manner, that they might be attributed to a hundred others.

15. These characteristics of the ancient Etruscan artists still show forth, in modern days, in the works of their descendants, and to the eyes of impartial connoisseurs manifest themselves in the drawings of Michael Angelo, the greatest among them. Hence some one says, not without reason, that whoever has seen one figure by this artist, has seen them all. This mannerism also is, unquestionably, one of the imperfections of Daniel da Volterra, Pietro da Cortona, and others.

16. In regard to Etruscan dress I have nothing but this to remark, that in marble figures the mantle is never cast freely, being always placed in parallel folds, which run either vertically or diagonally. A free cast of the mantle is, however, seen in the case of two of the five Greek heroes; consequently, no general conclusion can be drawn from those works. The sleeves of the female under-garment are often broken into quite small crimped plaits, after the manner of the Italian surplice, *rocchetto*, of the cardinals and canons of some churches; but persons in Germany can form an idea of what I wish to signify, from the round lanterns, made of paper, which are arranged in such folds, for the purpose of

drawing them out and closing them again. A male figure also, namely, the statue noticed as being in the Albani villa, has sleeves of precisely the same kind. The hair of most male as well as female figures is so divided, that the portion which comes down from the crown of the head is tied behind, while the other portions fall in strings upon the shoulders, and hang down in front of them,—according to the usage of older times even among other nations. The same custom has been previously pointed out as existing among the Egyptians, and it will also be noticed of the Greeks, in one of the following books.

17. Hitherto, and in the first and second style, we have considered art under that form which was peculiar to the Etruscans, and prior to their attainment of a more intimate knowledge of Greek works; that is to say, before the Greeks had acquired possession of the lower portion of Italy and of other lands on the Adriatic Sea, and compressed the Etruscans within narrower limits. After they had seized upon the most beautiful part of Italy, and founded powerful cities, the arts began to flourish among them, at an earlier date even than in Greece itself, and to diffuse light among their neighbors, the Etruscans, who still maintained themselves in Campania. Now as the latter, in the earliest ages, had represented the history of the Greeks on their monuments, and consequently recognized them as their teachers, the path was thus prepared for receiving instruction from them in art also. That this actually was the case is rendered probable by coins of most of the cities in Campania, which, according to their names in Etruscan letters, were stamped at the time when

the cities were still inhabited by Etruscans; for the heads of the divinities on them perfectly resemble the heads on Greek coins, and of Greek statues, so that even Jupiter, on Etruscan coins of the city of Capua, has the hair on the forehead arranged just as the Greeks fashioned it, in the manner which will be pointed out in a subsequent chapter.

18. This, therefore, is the third Etruscan style; and it is the style of the greater number of works of Etruscan art, especially the sepulchral urns of white alabaster of Volterra, which were all discovered in the year 1761, near the above-named city; four of them are in the Albani villa. These urns are only three palms (26 in. Eng.) long, and one palm (8.80 in. Eng.) broad, and consequently can have served for the preservation only of the ashes of the dead. A figure on the cover represents the deceased, half life-size, with the body raised and supporting itself on one arm. Three of such figures hold a cup, and one, a drinking-horn. It seems as if the feet had been sawed off because there was not space enough on the cover.



## CHAPTER IV.

### *Art of the Nations bordering on the Etruscans.*

THIS chapter contains a review of the art of the nations bordering on the Etruscans, — which I here embrace in one group, — namely, of the Samnites, Volsci, and Campanians, and of the latter especially; for among them art flourished not less than among the Etruscans. The chapter concludes with an account of some figures that were discovered in the island of Sardinia.

1. Of the works of art of the Samnites and Volsci, nothing, so far as we know, has been preserved (1), with the exception of a couple of coins; but of the Campanians, we have coins and earthen painted vases. I can, therefore, give only general accounts of the form of government and mode of life of the former, from which conclusions might be drawn in regard to art among them: this is the first part of the present chapter; the second treats of the works of art of the Campanians.

2. It is probably the same with the art of the two former nations as with their language, which was the Oscic. It would at least not differ much from the Etruscan, even if it is not to be regarded as one of its dialects. But as we do not know the difference in dialect of these two nations, so are we

also deficient in that knowledge which would enable us to point out the characteristics of their coins or engraved gems, if perchance any of them have been preserved.

3. The Samnites were fond of splendor, and, although a warlike people, were very much devoted to the pleasures of life. In war, their shields were inlaid, some with gold, others with silver; and at a time when the Romans did not, apparently, know much of linen fabrics, the picked men of the Samnites, even when in the field, wore linen robes; and Livy relates that the entire camp of the Samnites, in the war with the Romans under the Consul Lucius Papirius Cursor, which embraced a square of two hundred paces on each side, was enclosed by linen cloths (2). Capua — which was built by the Etruscans, and, according to Livy, was a city of the Samnites, that is, as he states elsewhere, had been taken from the former by the latter — was celebrated for its voluptuousness and effeminaey.

4. The Volsci, like the Etruscans and other neighboring nations, had an aristocratic form of government. On this account, they elected a king or leader only on the breaking out of war; and the organization of the Samnites resembled that of Sparta and Crete. The frequent ruins of destroyed cities on hills situated near to each other still testify to the numerous population of this nation; and the history of their many sanguinary wars with the Romans, who did not succeed in subduing them until after twenty-four triumphs, tells of their strength. A numerous population and a love of show excited intellectual and bodily activity, and freedom elevated the soul: these are circumstances very favorable to art.

5. In the most remote periods, the Romans employed the artists of both nations. Tarquinius Priscus procured from Fregellæ, in the country of the Volsci, an artist, named Turrianus, who made a statue of Jupiter, of terra-cotta; and from the great similarity of a coin of the Servilius family of Rome to a Samnite coin, it has been conjectured that it was stamped by Samnite artists. On a very ancient coin of Anxur, a city of the Volsci, now Terracina, there is a beautiful head of Pallas.

6. The Campanians were a people to whom the soft climate which they enjoyed, and the rich soil which they cultivated, imparted voluptuous tastes. The country occupied by them, as well as that of the Samnites, was, in the earliest times, included in Etruria; but the people did not belong to the Etruscan state; they had an independent existence. Afterwards, the Greeks came, settled in the country, and also introduced their arts, — proof of which can still be found, apart from the Greek coins of Naples, in the coins of Cumæ, which are yet more ancient.

7. I do not wish to show, here, that Cumæ was a more ancient city than Naples, because both were built at the same time, — the former by Megasthenes, the latter by Hippocles. The two sailed simultaneously from Cumæ in Eubœa, their native land, with a company formed of the surplus population of the city, and sought their fortunes elsewhere; this has been proved by Martorelli more clearly than it was previously known. But coins of Cumæ, older than any of Naples, have been preserved; and my intention is to remark that both

cities were founded in the most remote ages, though we cannot state the exact date; Strabo says that Cumæ was the oldest Greek city of all those in Sicily and Italy. Citizens of Chalcis, the capital city of Eubœa, settled on an island, not far from Naples, which was then called Pithecusæ, the Ischia of modern days; but they forsook it on account of the frequent recurrence of earthquakes and volcanic eruptions, one portion of them building Naples on the neighboring coast, and another going further towards Vesuvius, where they founded Nola; hence, the coins of this city are impressed with Greek letters. I omit several other Greek cities, — as Dicæarchea, afterwards called Puteoli, — which were built by Greeks at a later period, because the whole shore of the country was then inhabited by them; consequently, they also practised their arts here at an early date, and at the same time, probably, taught their neighbors, the Campanians, who dwelt in the heart of the land. We understand, therefore, by what nation a portion of the vases of terra-cotta which have been frequently disinterred in Campania, and especially about Nola, from the tombs there, were executed and painted. But if we are willing to relinquish to the Campanians the honor of many of these productions, it cannot be derogatory to them if we regard them as scholars of the Greek artists. No proof of this would be requisite, if it be true, as Diodorus asserts, that the Campanians did not begin until the eighty-fifth Olympiad to be a distinct nation.

8. We must, unquestionably, regard as Campanian works, peculiar to this people, the coins of those

cities which lay in the heart of the land, — whither the Greeks led no colonies, — as Capua, Teanum, now Tiano, and other places, because they are marked with the letters of the Campanian language, which, from its resemblance to the Etruscan, has been held by some of the learned to be Punic, as, for example, by Bianchini in regard to a coin of Capua; but Maffei acknowledges his ignorance of the signification of the letters on the same coin. The letters on a coin of Tiano are held to be Punic in the book of Pembroke coins. Now, as the writing is a proof that it was adopted by the Campanians from the Etruscans, so, on the other hand, the impress of the coins does not show the style of Etruscan art, — which perhaps had been, at some former time, that of the Campanian artists, — but seems to confirm, by the drawing, exactly what I have already asserted to be the case. The head of a young Hercules on coins of both cities, and the head of Jupiter on those of Capua, are drawn after the highest idea of beauty; and a Victoria, standing on a four-horse chariot, on coins of the latter city, is not distinguishable from a Greek impression.

9. The coins, however, of the Campanian cities are few in number compared with the above-mentioned painted vases, which have been discovered at all times in this district, and which are commonly, though erroneously, called Etruscan, in accordance with the opinions of Buonarroti and Gori, by whom copies of them were, for the first time, made known. Being Tuscans, they sought, for the honor of their country, to appropriate these works to the Etruscans.

10. The grounds of this claim are in part the accounts of the vases, once so popular, which were made in Tuscany, and especially at Arezzo, an Etruscan city, and in part the similarity between many pictures on those vessels and the representations engraved on the bronze Etruscan sacrificial basins. The figures of Fauns with horses' tails, in particular, are cited on this point, because the tails of Greek Fauns and Satyrs are short, and resemble the tails of goats. They might also have appealed to the birds, of unknown kinds, which are painted on some of the vessels, because Pliny says that, in the soothsaying books of the Etruscans, there were representations of birds with which he was totally unacquainted. I must, however, remark in this place, that a large unknown bird is also found on a vase, marked with the most ancient Greek writing, and exhibiting a chase, in the museum of Mr. Hamilton, minister from Great Britain at Naples, which has been frequently cited by me. It resembles a bustard, — a bird which was known to the ancient Romans, but in modern days, in the warmer parts of Italy at least, is quite a stranger. I omit here the unimportant comments of Buonarroti concerning crowns and vases in the hand of Bacchus, playthings, and instruments, and square caskets, some of which he has not seen at all on Greek works, and some of which he has seen of a different form. But he had far too much experience to assert what Gori positively, though wrongly, imputes to him, that the divinities and the fabulous history which are represented on vases of this kind are very different from the same representations in Greek pictures; for the



contrary could have been demonstrated to him. The opinion of Gori himself, on the other hand, is absolutely of no weight in this instance, since he was never out of Florence, and consequently has no personal knowledge of that larger portion of antiquities and ancient works of art which exists outside of his native city. But, finally, — as it cannot be denied that the greater number of the vases made known by those learned men were discovered in the kingdom of Naples, — they had recourse, in behalf of their presumed native land, even to the earliest period of history, and to times when the Etruscans were spread throughout all Italy, not considering that the drawing of most of these paintings pointed to far later times, and to those in which art had either attained its perfection, or was beginning to approach it, according as the vases are more or less ancient. An account of vases of this kind, actually exhumed in Tuscany, would have been no weak ground on which to uphold the common opinion in favor of the Etruscans; but of these no one has made mention.

11. I am willing to acknowledge that some few vases of this kind, which are exhibited in the Grand-Ducal gallery, were found in Tuscany, though it cannot be proved. I also know that small fragments of vessels, made of terra-cotta, have been discovered near the Etruscan tombs in the vicinity of Corneto. On the other hand, it is not to be denied that all the large collections existing in Italy, as well as those pieces which have been removed to the other side of the Alps, were discovered in the kingdom of Naples, principally near Nola, and extracted from the ancient tombs of this city. Still, the unquestion-

able certainty of this fact does not determine everything that is required in order to understand and form a judgment of these vessels, since we know, — as I have but recently cited a passage to show, — that Nola was a colony of the Greeks, and that a large portion of those known to us are painted with Greek drawings, and a few have Greek letters on them, — as I shall point out more clearly. If, therefore, we deny that the artists of Etruria proper had any share in the production of these vases, whose style, notwithstanding, is distinctly shown in very many of them, whilst, on the contrary, others manifestly proceed from Greek artists, our judgment hangs suspended between the Campanians and the Greeks; and hence a clearer explanation is requisite.

12. It is very probable that vases by Campanian artists are found among this painted pottery, inasmuch as the earthen vessels of Campania, *Campana supellex*, are mentioned even by Horace; he speaks of them, however, only in making mention of his household articles of trifling value. But this conclusion may be formed with more certainty from the style of drawing on some few of the pieces, which, as I have said, resembles Etruscan drawing; and there may be the same ground for the similarity as for the possession by the Campanians of a sort of Etruscan writing. As the Tyrrhenians or most ancient Etruscans had spread themselves throughout Campania, even into the land which was afterwards called Magna Græcia, and the Campanians, consequently, are to be regarded as their descendants, the letters introduced by them, and also the drawing of their artists will, in this way, have been preserved

here. Even the artisans of the Campanians wrought differently from the Greeks and Sicilians, as Pliny remarks of the cabinet-makers, in particular, among them.

13. But, to conclude, the principal proof against the Tuscans is furnished partly by the most beautiful of the vases of this kind, which were discovered and collected in Sicily, and which, according to the account of my friend, the Baron von Riedesel, — who, as a connoisseur of antiquities and arts, travelled throughout Sicily and Magna Græcia, — perfectly resemble the most beautiful vases that are contained in the museums at Naples; and partly by the Greek writing on several of them.

14. Three vases, marked with Greek writing, are contained in the Mastrilli collection at Naples, which were made known, for the first time, by the Canon Mazzochi, badly drawn, and worse engraved; but they appeared afterwards more correctly drawn, at the same time with the *Hamilton Vases*. Another vase, with the inscription *ΚΑΛΛΙΚΛΕΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ*, “The Beautiful Kallicles,” is contained in the same collection; there is, moreover, to be seen there a cup of terra-cotta, with Greek letters on it. But the most ancient writing of all is on the above-mentioned vase belonging to Mr. Hamilton; and in the following chapter I shall make mention anew of these, as well as of other pieces marked with Greek writing. Now, as not a single one of these works with Etruscan writing on it has hitherto been discovered, it follows of course that the letters, no longer to be distinguished, on two beautiful vases in the collection of Signor Mengs, at Rome, are not Etruscan, but Greek :

one of them I have published in my *Ancient Monuments* (3). On a vase in the Vatican library, which I have likewise published and explained, the name of the painter may be seen signed in the following form: *ΑΛΞΙΜΟΣ ΕΓΡΑΨΕ*, "Alsimos painted it." This inscription has been erroneously read by others, *ΜΑΞΙΜΟΣ ΕΓΡΑΨΕ*; and Gori, to whose system the writing is hostile, boldly pronounces it a deception, without having seen the vase itself.

15. The proof which arises from the writing, as well as from the style of the drawing, extends also to other vases without any writing, and warrants the ascription of them to Greek artists; and is confirmed, as I have already mentioned, by vases of a like kind and workmanship, found in Sicily. I shall notice the collections of them, after having previously given an account of those which were partly formed in the kingdom of Naples, and a portion of which are to be found at the present time in the city of Naples.

16. The first and oldest collection formed there is, so far as I know, the one which adorns the Vatican library. We are indebted for it to the Neapolitan jurist, Joseph Valetta; it was purchased from his heir by the senior Cardinal Gualtieri; and after his death it was incorporated into the library mentioned (4). The same Valetta bequeathed to the library of the Theatines in the church of the Santi Apostoli, at Naples, some twenty vases of a similar kind, which are there exhibited.

17. Not inferior, at least in size, is the collection made by the Count Mastrilli, of Naples. It was enlarged, a few years ago, by a considerable number

which had been collected by another member of the same family residing at Nola. Both collections, united together, are now in possession of their heir, the Count Palma, of Naples.

18. Together with this collection is to be noticed the one contained in the Porcinari mansion. It consists of nearly seventy pieces, one of the most beautiful of which represents Orestes, pursued by two figures, and kneeling with the left knee on the cover of the tripod of Apollo. The cover, ὄλμος, is hung with something, of which I shall speak at a fitting time, in the third volume of my *Ancient Monuments*. This vase, together with a pair of others in the same cabinet, appears in the *Hamilton Collection*.

19. A short time ago, the Duke of Caraffa Noja, a passionate lover of antiquities, began to collect, together with other ancient works, vases also, of which engravings will soon be published. The most beautiful, and at the same time the most learned piece represents, in some twenty figures, the fight of the Greeks and Trojans over the body of Patroclus; the latter are distinguished from the former by their helmets, which have some resemblance to a Phrygian bonnet.

20. At last, and subsequently to all the lovers of such earthen productions just named, Mr. Hamilton, of whom I have made frequent mention, collected a still larger, and a more select, number of them, which have been published by M. d'Hancarville, together with the choicest specimens of the Mastrilli and Porcinari collections, in four splendid volumes of the largest folio size. This work surpasses in

magnificence all engraved works of the ancient monuments hitherto published; for, together with the shape of the vessels, and their measured solid contents, each one is presented in several different plates; the ornaments on them, but still more the figures, are accurately copied with the utmost care, and with a true understanding of the drawing of the ancients; and, besides, each vase has been struck off with its own proper color; so that in these volumes we have a treasure of Greek drawing, and the clearest evidence of the perfection of Greek art. The worthy possessor of this collection can boast of being able to show, in two vases, not only one of the most ancient monuments of Greek art, but also the most perfect in drawing and beauty, which the world knows, — as I will prove concerning both.

21. Among some other collections, also emanating from the kingdom of Naples, one of the most considerable is that which has been formed by Signor Raphael Mengs, during his residence there; five, quite singular pieces, from the collection, have been published in my *Ancient Monuments*. There are, besides these, yet other vases among them not less deserving of publicity, as, for instance, the one which represents an Amazon on horseback, her hat thrown down upon her shoulder, in combat with a Hero. The Hero is probably Achilles, and the Amazon, Penthesilea, because the use of a hat is an invention attributed to her.

22. To conclude, I must not forget to cite, amongst the vases whose native land is the country about Naples, the one which was purchased at Rome, by his Serene Highness, the reigning Prince of An-



halt-Dessau,— on account of a peculiarity hitherto unobserved on other vases. We see painted on it a female draped figure, which stands in front of a winged Genius, and holds before herself a round mirror, grasped by its handle, in which we see the profile of the face of the figure, drawn, not in color, but with a shining glaze, which appears of a lead tint. I presume that the larger portion of vases of this kind to be found in different cities of Italy, the collections of which are noticed by Gori, originate from the same places.

23. I have had frequent opportunities to examine, at my leisure, all the collections previously mentioned; and I should have liked to examine for myself, and not with the eyes of others, the vases that are to be found in Sicily, because all the arts flourished in this island not less than in Magna Græcia. On this account, I must confine myself to a bare notice of the places in which the greater number of them have been collected; these are Girgenti and Catania.

24. In the former place, several adorn the museum of Lucchesi, the bishop of the city, who likewise possesses a beautiful cabinet of coins; and I shall hereafter cite from his museum two very ancient golden cups. One of the most beautiful vases is found in the scribe's office of the cathedral church. It is five Roman palms (3 ft. 8 in. Eng.) in height; the figures, as usual, are yellow, on a black ground; and the style of the drawing, as I have been assured, conforms to the idea which we have of the grandest epoch in art.

25. The Benedictines of the latter city have in

their museum more than two hundred of these vases; and the Prince Biscari, a worthy man and a lover of the arts, is the possessor of a collection not less considerable. In the latter, as well as the former, are all possible forms of such vases, and on them may be seen depicted (5) rare incidents in heroic history.

26. I am well aware that the list, just presented, of existing celebrated collections of vases ought to have been placed at the close of the remarks which still remain to be introduced in regard to such works, and that the uses to which they were applied in ancient times, not less than the drawing and painting on them, should have been first discussed, because information of the latter kind relates to that which is essential in them, more than the former, which is merely an historical notice. But the reason which induced me to prefer the one to the other was, that the collections mentioned, having been made in lands inhabited by the Greeks, are able to furnish proof in refutation of the erroneous opinion, that such vases were executed by Etruscan artists. I have, therefore, precisely through their aid, endeavored to establish a correct name for them, — which must be the first point in all subjects of discussion.

27. In the first place, — in regard to the use made of such vases, — they are found of every kind and shape, from the smallest, which must have served as playthings for children (6), to those of three, four, five palms in height; the varied forms of the larger ones are seen in books, containing engravings of them. They were used in various ways.

Earthen vessels continued to be employed at sacrifices, especially those of Vesta. Some served for the preservation of the ashes of the dead, the greater number of them having been found in tombs buried in rubbish, and in graves, particularly near the city of Nola, not far from Naples. It is asserted that several of these vases, belonging to the Castellan at Caserta, were found enclosed in a common stone; and a vase, which I have published in my *Ancient Monuments* (7), is said to have been discovered in a similar envelope. The very shape of the vase itself is painted on the stone, and it stands seemingly on a hill, which is probably designed to denote a grave, of the kind usual in the most ancient times. On each side of this vessel stands a young male figure, which is nude, with the exception of a robe hanging from one shoulder, and which has a sword under the arm pointing upward, after the manner of heroic figures; — the sword, in such cases, is termed *ἰπωλέμιος*; — and it is my opinion, that these figures represent Orestes and Pylades at the tomb of Agamemnon.

28. Vases of this kind were found even in the tombs situated in the midst of the Tiphates mountains, ten miles above the ancient city of Capua, near to a place called Trebbia, which is reached by untrodden and toilsome paths. Mr. Hamilton, the Minister from Great Britain to Naples, caused these tombs to be opened in his presence, partly for the purpose of seeing the mode of their construction, and partly for the purpose of ascertaining whether vases of the kind would be found in tombs located in places so difficult of access. On the discovery of one

of these tombs, a drawing of it was made on the spot by this amateur and connoisseur of the arts, of which a copperplate engraving may be seen in the second volume of the large collection of his vases. The skeleton of the deceased lay stretched upon the bare earth, the feet turned towards the entrance of the tomb, and the head near the wall, into which six short, flat iron rods, spread out like the sticks of a fan, were driven by means of the nail about which they are enabled to turn. In the same place, and by the head, stood two tall, iron candelabra, corroded by rust. But, at some height above the head, vases hung from bronze nails driven into the wall; one stood near the candelabra; and two others were placed at the right side of the skeleton, near the feet. On the left side, near the head, lay two iron swords, together with a *colo vinario*, "wine-strainer," of bronze, which is a deep cup, pierced with holes like a sieve, and furnished with a handle; this cup fits nicely into another cup, not perforated, and it served, as it is known, for the filtering of wine. For since wine could be kept in the large *doliis*, "casks" of burnt earth, longer than in tuns formed of wooden staves, and was, consequently, thicker than our wine, which is commonly drunk soon after the vintage, such a wine seemed to require filtration. On the same side, at the feet, stood a round bronze cup, in which was a *simpulum*, that is, a smaller round cup with a long handle, the upper extremity of which is bent like a hook, and which was used to dip wine from the casks, in order to taste it, and also for the purpose of pouring into a larger cup the wine of libation, at sacri-

fices. Near the cup lay two eggs and a grater, resembling a cheese-grater.

29. I cannot refrain from subjoining a few observations in relation to this discovery, although they lead me somewhat from my point; I shall, however, return to it again presently, when I come to speak generally of the vases in tombs. That the dead were entombed with the feet turned towards the entrance of the sepulchre is known also through other sources; but it must have been a custom peculiar to the dwellers in this land to place the body, not in a coffin, but on the bare earth, since it might have been put, without much expense, in an oblong box, — many of which are found with their bodies. The pieces of iron, spread out in the shape of a fan, close to the head of the skeleton, seem to have represented an actual fan, and to refer to the custom of driving away with a fan the flies from the face of the dead. The cup or crater, and grater, together with the eggs, are to be regarded as symbols of the food and drink which were left behind for the soul of the deceased, since we know that, among the last appeals to the dead, they were reminded to drink to the welfare of those who remained behind. On a round sepulchral urn in the Mattei villa, among others we read

HAVE. ARCENTI. TV. NOBIS. BIBES.

“Farewell to thee, Arcentes! Mayest thou drink to us!”

The suspended vases cannot be regarded as for the ashes of the dead, any more than those which stood near the skeleton; partly because, as we see, it was either not a general custom, in that place, to burn

the dead, or because it was not agreeable to the owner of the tomb in question; and partly, also, because only a single body was entombed here; and, finally, because all these vases were open and uncovered, whilst, on the contrary, all jars intended for the ashes of the dead have a cover.

30. It is singular, however, that the ancient writers make no mention, anywhere, of vases being deposited in tombs for other purposes than that of holding the ashes of the dead; for a vase with oil, which, according to Aristophanes, was placed near the corpse, does not seem to be intended in this case.

31. Not less familiar is the use made of such vases in the public games of Greece, where, in the earliest ages, a mere earthen vase was the prize of victory, as is indicated by a vase on coins of the city of Tralles, and on many engraved gems. The custom had been retained, even to later periods, in Athens, where the prize in the Panathenæa was precisely such vases, which were filled with oil pressed from olives consecrated to Pallas; and to it the vases on the summit of a temple at Athens are allusive. They were embellished with painting, as Pindar indicates (8) in a passage which is so interpreted also by the scholiast of the poet. To this custom the pictures on several of the largest vases, both in the Vatican and Hamilton collections, appear to allude; for sometimes they represent Castor, at others Pollux, in a temple, the latter standing, and with a horse, the former sitting, with a pointed helmet in his hand, of the form of the cap usually worn by him. Castor would be an image of horse-racing;



and in Pollux, as a celebrated athlete, the other games would be denoted.

32. Moreover, many of these vases, if not the most of them, must have served instead of our porcelain, and have been executed for the ornamentation of the places in which they were put. This may be inferred, in the first place, from the painting, as it is commonly finished better on one side than on the other, so that the inferior side was placed against the wall. But the make of some of these vases renders such use of them unquestionable, for they have no bottom, nor ever have had one, as some of the largest pieces in the Hamilton collection are found to be thus shaped (9). From the numerous figures which hold a *strigilis*, a bathing-scraper, it would seem as if many of them had been made with the view of being placed in bathing-houses.

33. The chief purpose of the present treatise, however, is neither to discuss the shape of these vases, nor to define their uses, but to consider the paintings or drawings executed on them, the greater number of which may, from their characteristics, be ascribed to Greek artists, and, consequently, may be to our artists a worthy subject of study and imitation. We often perceive in drawings, more distinctly than in finished pictures, the spirit of the artist, his thoughts, together with his manner of designing them, as also the freedom with which the hand was capable of following and obeying the understanding. This is the object which should be kept in view in the formation of valuable collections of drawings. Now this purpose will be attained in a still nobler way

by means of such painted vases, since these are actual drawings, and, together with four marble slabs in the Herculaneum museum, — of which I shall make mention hereafter, — are the sole drawings that have come down to us from ancient times. For the figures, here, are given merely in outline, as drawings must be; that is to say, not only the exterior outlines of the figures, but also all parts of them, together with the cast and folds of the garments, as well as the ornaments on them, are rendered, but they are rendered by means of lines and strokes, without light and shade. We term them paintings, therefore, not in the proper meaning of the word, it is true, but because they are drawings laid on with colors, though this is a usual practice even in drawings; and we can designate these vases as painted vases, without any misapplication of the term, just as we call that an engraving on copper which in reality is only an etching.

34. In most specimens, the figures are painted with a single color only; or, to speak more correctly, the color of the figures is the true ground of the vases, or the natural color of the very fine, burnt clay itself; but the field of the picture, or the color between the figures, is a shining blackish color, with which the outlines of the figures are painted on the reddish-yellow ground (10). Of vases painted with more than one color, several are found in the collections. One of them, and likewise one of the learned vases in the museum of Signor Mengs, at Rome, presents a parody of the fable of Jupiter and Alcmena; that is, it is turned into ridicule and represented in a comic way; or we

might say, that it is a picture of the principal scene of a comedy, such as the *Amphitryon* of Plautus (11). Alcmena is looking out of a window, as they did whose favors were venal, or who wished to play the prude, and enhance their price; the window is placed high in the wall, after the custom of the ancients. Jupiter is disguised by a bearded white mask, and, like Serapis, wears on his head the *Modius*, which is of one piece with the mask. He is carrying a ladder, between the rounds of which he sticks his head, as if he had the intention of climbing to the chamber of his love. On the other side is Mercury, with a big belly, figured as a servant, and disguised like *Sosia* in Plautus. In his left hand he holds his wand downward, as if he was desirous of concealing it, in order that he may not be recognized; in the other, he carries a lamp, which he raises towards the window, either for the purpose of lighting Jupiter, or to signify the intention of using the axe and the lamp, as *Delphis* in *Theocritus* says to *Simætha*; that is, to express the idea in a corresponding phrase of our day, to employ force with fire and sword, if his beloved should deny him admission. He wears a large priapus, which, even here, has its significance; and in the comedies of the ancients, the actors tied a large member of red leather in front. Both figures have whitish hose and stockings of one piece, which reach to the ankles, like the seated comic actors, with masks before their faces, in the *Mattei* and *Albani villas*; for the actors in the comedies of the ancients could not appear without hose. The nude of the figures is flesh-colored, even to the priapus, which

is a dark red, as is also the clothing of the figures; the robe of Alemena is marked with little white stars. Garments, wrought with stars, were known among the Greeks in the earliest ages; the hero, Sosipolis, in a very ancient picture, had such a one; and Demetrius Poliorcetes wore one of the same kind.

35. The drawing on most of the vases is of such a quality, that the figures might deservedly have a place in a drawing by Raphael; and it is remarkable, that no two are found with pictures of precisely the same kind; and of the many hundreds which I have seen, each one has its peculiar representation. Whoever studies and is able to comprehend the masterly and elegant drawing on them, and knows the mode of proceeding in laying the colors on baked works of a similar kind, will find in this sort of painting the strongest proof of the great correctness, and dexterity too, of the artists in drawing. For these vases are painted not otherwise than our pottery, or the common porcelain, when the blue color is laid on it, after it has been baked, as the term is. Painting of this kind requires to be executed dexterously and rapidly; for all burnt clay instantly absorbs the moisture from the colors and the pencil, even as a parched and thirsty soil absorbs the dew, so that, if the outlines are not drawn rapidly with a single stroke, nothing remains in the pencil but an earthy matter. Consequently, as breaks, or lines joined and again commenced, are not generally found, every line of the contour of the figure must be drawn with an unbroken sweep; this must seem almost miraculous, when we consider

the quality of the figures. We must also reflect, that, in this sort of workmanship, no change or amendment is possible; as the outlines are drawn, so they must remain. As the smallest, meanest insects are wonders in nature, so these vases are a wonder in the art and manner of the ancients; and as, in Raphael's first sketches of his ideas, the outline of a head, and even entire figures, drawn with a single unbroken sweep of the pen, show the master to the connoisseur not less than his finished drawings, so the great facility and confidence of the ancient artists are more apparent in the vases than in other works. A collection of them (12) is a treasure of drawings.

36. However much I might say of many such vases, I should not believe that I had done anything, unless I again placed before the reader a description of a part of the most beautiful vase in the Hamilton collection; I mean only that representation which is painted on the upper part of the curve of the belly, below the mouth,—omitting the painting on the belly of the vase, which depicts the love of Jason and Medea. I confine myself to this picture especially, because it may be pronounced the very highest specimen of drawing which has been preserved to us in the works of the ancients; but the meaning of the figures is somewhat obscure.

37. My first thought fell upon the chariot-race which Œnomaus, king of Pisa, had established for the suitors of Hippodamia, and in which Pelops obtained the victory and a bride. This conjecture seemed to be supported by the altar in the middle; for the course extended from Pisa to the altar of

Neptune at Corinth. But there is no token of this divinity here, and as Hippodamia had only a single sister, named Alcippa, the other female figures would be imaginary.

38. Afterwards, I thought of the race which Icarus proposed to the suitors of his daughter Penelope, at Sparta, who should fall to the lot of him who outstripped the others. Ulysses obtained the prize. It would, therefore, be necessary to imagine him in the figure of the young hero embracing a youthful beauty, who strives to escape from him. The image of the goddess, who, in this case, seems to designate the place, would be that of Juno at Sparta, which wore a similar broad-topped hood, named *πυλωόν*, — of which I have previously spoken in the second chapter of this book, and more in detail in the *Ancient Monuments*.

39. But as Penelope had only two sisters, Eri-gone and Iphthime, who had no share in the race, the contest arranged by Danaus, at Argos, for the marriage of his forty-eight daughters, seemed to be more pertinent here. As they, with the sole exception of Hypermnestra, had murdered in one night, by their father's command, the same number of sons of Ægyptus, their uncle, a general feeling of indignation was excited against them by the deed. Their father, therefore, offered to bestow his daughters in marriage without demanding a dowry, so that they might select among the young men, each the one who pleased her most. But as many suitors did not present themselves, Danaus arranged a race, in which the winner should make the first choice among his daughters; and so on, one after another. We



do not know, however, who of the suitors was the first; neither is it known who were the subsequent ones.

40. The figure of the goddess might be Juno at Argos, if we regarded only the hood, which likewise resembled that of the figure on the vase; but the thing which she holds in her hand does not correspond with the emblems attributed to that goddess. It would be appropriate to Rhea, because it resembles the stone which she offers, wrapped up like a child, to Saturn, on a four-sided altar in the Capitoline museum.

41. To see two female figures on a chariot will not surprise those who know that the Venus of Homer rode on a chariot together with Iris, who holds the reins, and who remember, in Callimachus, that Pallas was accustomed to take with her on her chariot Chariclo, who afterwards became the mother of Tiresias; it is known, indeed, that Cynisea, the daughter of the Spartan King Archidamus, obtained the victory in the chariot-race of the Olympic games.

42. The chariots, in this scene, are carved as they were — I will not say in the time of Danaus, but — at a very early date; for Euripides gives to the son of Theseus, in the expedition of the Greeks against Troy, a chariot which was ornamented with an image of Pallas.

43. It seems to me to be the most appropriate place, at the conclusion of this chapter, to say a few words in regard to some bronze figures, discovered in the island of Sardinia, which, from their conformation and remote antiquity, deserve a certain degree of attention. A short time ago, two other

similar figures from this island were made known; but those of which I speak are in the museum of the College of Saint Ignatius, to which they were sent, as a gift, by the Cardinal Alexander Albani. They are four in number, and of different sizes, varying from half a palm to two palms (16.8 in. Eng.). The form and configuration of them are altogether barbarous, and at the same time offer the clearest indications of the remotest antiquity in a land where-in the arts never flourished. Their heads are elongated, eyes unusually large, members ill-shaped, and necks long and stork-like, in the style in which some of the ugliest of the small Etruscan figures of bronze are formed.

44. Two of the three smaller figures appear to be soldiers, but without helmets; both of them have a short sword, hanging upon the front of the chest, and from right to left, by a belt, thrown over the head. On the left shoulder is suspended a short mantle, — which is a narrow strip of cloth, — that reaches half down the thigh. It is apparently a four-cornered cloth, capable of being folded up; on one side, the inner, it is edged with a narrow raised border. This singular sort of garment may, perhaps, be the garb called *Mastruca* (13), which belonged exclusively to the Sardinians. One figure holds in its hand a plate, apparently containing fruits.

45. The most remarkable of these figures is a soldier,\* almost two palms in height, with a short doublet, and, like the former, having hose and greaves to the lower part of the calf of the leg, — being the

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\* Plate XX.





reverse of other examples of greaves; for whilst those worn by the Greeks covered the front part of the leg, these lie over the calf of the leg, and are open in front. In this manner the legs of Castor and Pollux may be seen protected on a gem in the Stosch museum, in the description of which I have cited the former figure as an illustration. This soldier holds with the left hand, before his body, but at some distance from it, a round shield, and beneath it three arrows, the feathers of which rise above the shield; in his right hand he holds the bow. The breast is protected by a short cuirass, as also are the shoulders with capes, — a sort of shoulder-armor which is seen on a vase of the former Mastrilli collection at Nola, and on another vase in the Vatican library. A gladiator, in a monument made known by me, likewise wears a similar piece of armor on his shoulder; the piece in this case, as well as on the figures of the vases before mentioned, is square; but in the Sardinian figures, of which we now speak, it is shaped like the capes worn by our drummers on the shoulders of their uniforms. I have since learned that this mode of protecting the shoulders was also customary among the Greeks of the earliest periods; for, among other pieces of armor which Hesiod assigns to Hercules, he gives him this; and the scholiast of the poet terms it *Σωσάννιον*, from *σώζειν*, to *protect*. The head is covered with a flat cap, from the sides of which two long horns, like teeth, project forwards and upwards. On the head lies a basket with two shaft-handles, which is supported on the horns, and can be taken off. On his back he carries the body of a wagon with two small wheels,

the pole of which is stuck into a ring on his back, so that the wheels project above his head.

46. This arrangement informs us of an unknown custom of the ancient nations, in war. In Sardinia, the soldier was obliged to carry his rations with him; but he did not carry them on his shoulders, as the Roman soldiers did, but drew them after him on a frame, on which the basket stood. When the campaign was ended, and the soldier had no further need of his light wagon, he stuck it in the ring which was fastened on his back, and set the basket on his head above the two horns. The soldier probably went even into battle with all this apparatus, as we see it, and was constantly provided with every appurtenance.

47. To bring this chapter to a complete close, I submit it to the consideration of the reader, who might desire more light on many particulars, that, in comparing these ancient nations in Italy with the Egyptians, I am like some persons who are less learned in their mother tongue than in a foreign language. Hence we are able to speak with more certainty of the art of the Egyptians, than of the art of those people whose lands we traverse without any impediment, and even dig over. We possess a multitude of small Etruscan figures, but not statues enough to enable us to arrive at a fully correct system of their art; and after a shipwreck, no safer bark can be constructed from a few planks. Most of them consist of engraved gems, which are like the small bushes of a cleared wood, wherein only detached trees are still standing as evidence of the destruction. The misfortune is, that we have



little hope of discovering works produced in the flourishing periods of these nations. The Etruscans had, in their territory, the marble-quarries of Luna (14), — now Carrara, — which was one of their twelve capital cities; but the Samnites, Volsci, and Campanians found no white marble in their lands, and consequently most of their works were made of baked clay, or of bronze. The former are broken in pieces; the latter are melted; and herein lies the cause of the rareness of works of art of these nations. Since, however, the Etruscan style resembled the older Greek style, the present treatise may be regarded as a preparation for that which follows, — to which the reader is referred.



NOTES.



## NOTES.

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THE authors of the notes are designated by the following signatures: W., Winckelmann; Germ. Ed., the German Editor, Meyer; L., Lessing; A., Amoretti, author of an Italian translation; F., Fea, also an Italian translator; D., Desmarest; S., Siebelis; E., Eschenburg.

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### PREFACE TO HISTORY OF ART.

1. AFTERWARDS explained by the author as Electra and Orestes. — GERM. ED.

2. Baldinucci, *Vita di Bernini*, p. 72. Bernini, *Vita del Cav. Bernini*, cap. 2; p. 13. Bernini may, perhaps, have esteemed too highly a fragment of a group known by the name of Pasquino, at the corner of the Corsini palace, in Rome. But it is unquestionably an admirable work, worthy of a Greek master. There are several ancient repetitions of this work extant. According to Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. VI. pp. 21–31), this torso, as well as other similar groups, represents Menelaus holding in his arms the dead body of Patroclus. — GERM. ED.

3. The wound in the right thigh, and the consternation expressed on the face and in the whole figure, render it highly probable that this statue represents Adonis, wounded by a boar, as Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Plate 31) also maintains. — F.

## PREFACE TO NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF ART.

1. WINCKELMANN has made a mistake here, or rather a clerical error. It is scarcely possible that he did not know that the Marcus (not Quintus) Curtius in the Borghese villa is a modern figure, — by Bernini, it is said; only the plunging horse on which he sits is antique, and of admirable workmanship. (*Sculture della Villa Borghese*, Tom. I. Stanza I. No. 18.) — GERM. ED.

2. This work represents not the death of Agamemnon, but the vengeance inflicted by Orestes on Ægistheus and Clytemnestra, on account of the murder of Agamemnon. — GERM. ED.

## BOOK I.

## CHAPTER I.

1. GERM. Voss. *Instit. Poët.*, lib. 1, p. 31.

In Mesopotamia there were images of the gods from the time of Abraham. (Joshua xxiv. 14.) Jacob commanded his family to put away all images of the gods. (Gen. xxxv. 2.) Rachel stole the idols from Laban, her father. (Gen. xxxi. 19.) — F.

2. Not all the obelisks in Rome were erected in Egypt by Sesostris. Pliny (lib. 36, cap. 9, sect. 14, n. 5), at least, mentions only a single obelisk set up by Sesostris, which was afterwards erected in the Campus Martius, whether by Augustus, as Fca maintains, or not, we are unable to determine. Pliny certainly does not expressly assert it. — F. and GERM. ED.

3. Psalm cxxxv. 16 speaks only of a head; but in Psalm cxv. 4-7, hands and feet of figures of gods are mentioned. — F.



4. Scylac. Peripl., p. 50, seq. Suid., v. ἕρμα. The name Hermes, Mercury, to whom such stones, it is pretended, were first erected, would, even according to its derivation in Plato (*Cratyl.*, p. 408, B), have no application to those. — W.

Tzetzcs (*Chiliad.* 13, *Hist.* 429, v. 593) says that every statue was termed Hermes. — F.

Ἀνδριᾶς Πανδίωνος, in Aristophanes (*Pac.*, v. 1183), was a Hermes of this kind, and one of twelve at Athens on which were suspended the rolls of soldiers; it cannot, therefore, signify a column, as the translators have rendered it. — W.

The Hermes, by which Mercury was originally represented, probably owes its shape to some mystic allusion, as also Macrobius (*Saturnal.*, lib. 1, c. 19), Suidas (v. ἕρμα), and Codinus (lib. 100, cap. 29) maintain. Or its form may depend on the fable which relates that the hands and feet of the god were cut off, whilst he was sleeping, as Servius (*Ad Virgil. Æn.*, lib. 8, v. 138) cites, and as he is found represented on a marble wrought in mosaic. According to Pausanias (lib. 4, cap. 33), the Athenians were the first to give to the Hermes a quadrate form. Cicero (*Ad Attic.*, lib. 1, *epist.* 8) mentions some Hermæ of which the trunk or shaft was of Pentelic marble, and the heads of bronze. A Hermes terminating in a lion's paw may be seen among the *Pictures of Herculaneum* (Tom. IV. p. 5). — A. and F.

In the *Notes on the History of Art*, Winckelmann makes the following remarks upon the Palladium, as one of the oldest figures known to us: "It was, as Suidas and others relate, of wood, and, according to Apollodorus (*Bibl.*, lib. 3, p. 20), four feet and a half high, if, as Hesychius states, a πῆχυς is to be reckoned as a measure of a foot and a half. If the said Palladium should have been, as it seems, the figure upon whose knees Theano, wife of Antenor, and priestess of the same Pallas, placed a robe (Homer, *Il.* ζ. v. 303), then, if we take the verbal meaning of the passage, it must have been represented, not in a standing, but in a sitting position. But the more ancient Greeks, and their artists of the best periods, have either distinguished this latter Pallas

from the Palladium, or they have understood the phrase ἐπὶ γούνασιν not verbally, as a *placing on the knees*, but to mean that Theano placed her peplon at the feet of the goddess, — as it certainly can be explained. The Pallas on a fragment of one of the most beautiful of the ancient rilievi, in the museum of the author, in which Ajax is striving to engage the love of Cassandra, is represented standing, like the Palladium, on engraved gems, in the hand of Diomedes. On another beautiful work in the arches under the palace of the Borghese villa, exhibiting not the love, but rather the violence of Ajax towards Cassandra, we see this Pallas, similar to the Palladium on engraved gems, in form of a Hermes or Terminus, and, like that figure and all others prior to the time of Dædalus, standing with closed feet, πρὸς συμβέβηκος, as low as which a garment is signified. She holds her right hand before her breast, upon her ægis, and a spear in her left, differing in this respect from the Palladium, in whose right hand authors place a spear, and in the left a spindle (Apoll., lib. 100; Tzetzes in *Lycoph.*, v. 363); so, too, another very ancient statue of this goddess at Erythræ, in Achaia, likewise holds a spindle, and bears on its head a ball. (Pausan., lib. 7, p. 534.)” — GERM. ED.

5. Clemens Alexandrinus (*Cohortat. ad Gent.*, no. 2, p. 13), whom Eusebius quotes, makes no mention whatever of this triangle. That it was a figure of mysterious import among the Egyptians, Plutarch (*De Is. et Os.*, p. 373) testifies, and Caylus also (*Recueil d'Antiquit.*, Tom. II., *Antiq. Egypt.*, p. 11) remarks. Of the Hermæ, or rather of the simple, somewhat regular or four-sided stones which Sesostris caused to be placed as boundary stones in the countries conquered by him during his campaign in Asia, Diodorus Siculus (lib. 1, § 55) relates, that male sexual parts were given to some of them, in order to indicate the warlike and brave of the nations subdued by him; and, on the contrary, female parts to others, to denote the cowardly and contemptible. Herodotus (lib. 2, cap. 102) testifies to the latter, and says (lib. 2, cap. 106) that Hermæ with female sexual parts were found in Syria even in his time. — F.

6. Saturn and Serapis were not divinities of Greek origin. Tacitus (*Hist.*, lib. 4, cap. 81), Plutarch (*De Is. et Os.*, p. 361), Clemens Alexandrinus (*Cohort. ad Gent.*, no. 4, p. 42), Macrobius (lib. 100), Origen (*Contra Cels.*, lib. 5, no. 28, p. 607), and others, assert unanimously that the Egyptians were adverse to the divinities introduced by the Ptolemies, and did not in any way blend their own deities and sacred usages with those of the Greeks. — F.

7. I here term Egyptian, not those works executed by their ancient artists, but those which were wrought in later times, perhaps in the third or fourth century of the Christian era, and mostly in greenish basalt, and those which are marked with symbolic signs, and divinities, of the Egyptians. — W.

8. Inscriptions are also found on the figure itself. A small statue of Isis, of wood, in Caylus (*Rec. d'Antiq.*, Tom. V., *Antiq. Egypt.*, Pl. II., no. 1-2), has writing over the whole robe, from the middle of the body to the feet. In the museum of the Borgia family in Velletri, several very ancient Egyptian images of deities are found in hard stones, porcelain, and sycamore, which show hieroglyphs graven into or painted on the figure. Mention is made by Guasco (*De l'Usage des Stat.*, ch. 10, p. 296, ch. 12, p. 323) of similar statues. There is writing on the body of the very ancient Sphinx, of bronze. (Cayl., Tom. I. Pl. XIII. p. 44. Fea, Tom. I. p. 60.) — F.

9. Needham even published an explanation of these signs, which had been palmed off on him by a Chinese in Rome, who had no more knowledge of his own language than other young persons of that country who are educated at Naples, in a college founded for them; and not one of them knows the writing which is seen on Chinese utensils, fabrics, &c., because, as they say, it is the language of the learned. For as these are children whom their parents have exposed, and whom the missionaries have sought out, rescued from death, brought up, and sent out to this country as soon as they were sufficiently old, they of course acquire only a moderate knowledge of their own language. — W.

The Chinaman of whom Needham made inquiries was the

predecessor of Winckelmann in the Vatican library, and knew many Chinese words; but in the present case he was manifestly a deceiver. Having, probably, been informed of the hot dispute which had arisen among the learned in regard to the age and originality of the Chinese and Egyptian people, he wrote — in order to favor his own nation, and to show that the Chinese language was one and the same with the ancient Egyptian — on some Chinese manuscripts in the Vatican library the signs and characters which, as he knew, are found on the Turin head. — F.

10. Lib. 14, p. 948. Tyrwhitt wishes to read *Σκόπα ἔργα* or *Σκοπάδεια ἔργα*, and Favorinus explains *σκολιά* by *ἀνίστα, δύσκολα, δυσχερή, unequal, disagreeable, harsh.* — S.

11. Casaubon did not translate Strabo; he occupied himself solely with a critical examination of the text, without giving any heed to the faults of translation. — F.

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## CHAPTER II.

1. The most ancient artists wrought a'so in pitch. Hercules, having given burial to Icarus, the son of Dædalus, the artist, from gratitude, made a statue in pitch of the hero. (Apollod., lib. 2, cap. 6, n. 4.) Yet Pausanias (lib. 9, cap. 11) says of this same statue, that it was made of wood. Junius also forgets pitch (lib. 3, cap. 9) when he enumerates the several materials of ancient statues. — L.

2. Pausan., lib. 1, cap. 3. Ceramicus was the name of a street in Athens, in which this porch and others were situated. The particular porch so called took its name, not from the works in clay with which it was adorned, but from Ceramieus, son of Bacchus and Ariadne. Pliny (lib. 35, cap. 12, sect. 45) derives the name from the workshop of Chalkosthenes, a worker in clay, which was located there. Yet another place of the same name, on the outside of Athens (Cic., *De*

*Leg.*, lib. 2, cap. 36), was devoted as a burial-spot for those who had fallen in battle. (Meurs., *Ceramicus Geminus*, Oper., Tom. I. cap. 1, p. 466.) — F.

It should read, "On the roof of the royal porch in the Ceramicus." — S.

3. Vermilion was used (Plin., lib. 33, cap. 7, sect. 36), because it was a lively and very favorite color. — F.

4. Della Valle, *Viagg.*, Parte III. Lett. 1, § 7, p. 37; § 13, p. 72.

Among the Ethiopians, not only the deities were painted with vermilion, but also the chief men of the nation painted themselves with it. (Plin., lib. 33, cap. 7, sect. 36.) The Egyptians, likewise, occasionally painted the images of their divinities with such a color, as we see by a painting in the *Museo Herculeo* (Tom. IV. tav. 52), and find confirmed in the *Museo Borgiano*. In Rome, the practice of painting the statues of the divinities continued even to the time of Arnobius. (*Contra Gent.*, lib. 6, p. 196.) — F.

5. In one of these frieze ornaments, which represents a woman holding a *cista mystica*, "a mystic box," and which belonged to the Abbé Visconti, we see three holes; the fourth is wanting, because the fragment is somewhat mutilated. The number of the holes, as well as their form, shows clearly that they were intended for the nails by which the bas-reliefs were fastened to the wall. Besides, these heavy models, wrought from clay, could not have been supported by a cord in the workshop of the artist. — F.

6. Pausan., lib. 6, cap. 18. Praxidamas, of Ægina, who conquered in boxing, in the fifty-ninth Olympiad, and Rhexibius, an Opuntian, who, in the sixty-first, obtained the victory among the Pancratiasts, caused statues to be erected to themselves in Olympia, as the prize-combatants. They were made of wood,—that of Praxidamas being of cypress, and that of Rhexibius of fig-wood. — GERM. ED.

7. For this reason, Clement of Alexandria includes Diognetas among the wisest men of antiquity, because he showed by such an act the soundness of his judgment in regard to



the images and deities of antiquity; and he is very much astonished that any one should number him among atheists. According to this writer, the image must have been small, as Diagoras took it in his hands, with the words that he would do with it as Euristheus did with one of the same kind.—F.

Pausanias, especially in his second book, speaks of many other statues and images of wood which were still in existence in his day, and among them of a very ancient figure of Apollo Lycius, which was made by Attalus, the Athenian, and which, with a temple, was dedicated by Danaus to the god at Argos, at the same time. (Cap. 19.) He is, moreover, of the opinion, that all images of the earliest periods, and particularly the Egyptian, were of wood. In Rome as well as throughout Italy, artists continued to make statues of the gods in wood, even after marble and bronze had come into use,—until after the conquest of Asia. (Plin., lib. 34, cap. 7, sect. 16.)—GERM. ED.

8. Herod., lib. 2, cap. 129. In the time of Pausanias there stood at Corinth two wooden images of Bacchus, entirely gilded with the exception of the face, which was painted red with vermilion. (Pausan., lib. 2, cap. 2.)—F.

9. The most usual practice was to make the face, hands, and feet of ivory, like the statue of Pallas in Ægira, the other parts being of wood, partly gilded and partly painted. (Pausan., lib. 7, cap. 26.) A naked Venus, of which Pygmalion became enamored, was entirely of ivory (Clem. Alex., *Cohort. ad Gent.*, n. 4, p. 51), as was in Rome the statue of Minerva in the Forum of Augustus, and that of Jupiter in the temple of Metellus. (Plin., lib. 36, cap. 5, sect. 4, n. 12.) The Olympian Jupiter was of ivory and gold. (Pausan., lib. 5, cap. 11.)—F.

10. Some one in Rome has a wolf's tooth, on which the twelve deities are wrought.—W.

The author is not correct in his belief that wolf's teeth do not decompose, because he had seen one of the kind which had been preserved until his time. But this is not sufficient



proof, since pieces of ivory also have been preserved, which, according to Winckelmann and others, decomposes, like the still harder teeth of other animals. (Buffon, *Hist. Natur.*, Tom. VII., *Des Loups*, p. 46.)

It was also customary to cover books with ivory tablets, and especially those, called Diptycha, which the consuls and other magistrates were wont, at the festivities and public games occasioned by their induction into office, to give to their friends. (Gothofred., *Ad Cod. Theod.*, lib. 15, tit. 9, l. 1.) — F.

11. Statues of wood and of bronze were also clothed. (Pausan., lib. 2, cap. 11.) Dionysius the Younger caused a statue of Jupiter, which he had despoiled of its golden garment, to be dressed, in mockery, in a woollen garment. (Clem. Alex., *Cohort. ad Gent.*, n. 4, p. 46.) From Tertullian (*De Idolatr.*, cap. 3, n. 3) it seems to have been the custom to provide the images of the deities with embroidered garments. — F.

12. Lib. 8, cap. 14; lib. 9, cap. ult.; lib. 10, cap. 38.

Pausanias says expressly, that there were brazen statues before the age of Rhæus and Theodorus (Tom. III. cap. 17, l. 6); but they were not of one piece, but in several pieces, fastened together by nails. — S.

13. He engraved a lyre on the gem of Polycrates. (Clem. Alex., *Pædagog.*, lib. 3, cap. 11, p. 289.) — F.

14. The death of Pisistratus is placed, without dissent, in the sixty-third Olympiad, five hundred and twenty-eight years before Christ. — GERM. ED.

15. Columns, also, were made from glass. (Clem. Alex., *Recognit.*, lib. 7, cap. 12, 13, and 26.) Goguet (*De l'Origine des Lois*, liv. 2, ch. 2, art. 3) maintains that the columns in the theatre of Scæurus were of glass, according to Pliny (lib. 36, cap. 15, sect. 24, n. 7). The reader desirous of information concerning the works in glass of the ancients is referred to Buonarroti (*Osservazioni sopra Alcuni Frammenti di Vasi Antichi di Vetro, Ornati di Figure, Trovati nei Cimiteri di Roma*). — F.

16. Lib. 35, cap. 6, sect. 30. Pliny states in many passages, that all kinds of gems were so skilfully imitated, as to render it difficult to distinguish the artificial from the natural; as, for example, the opal (lib. 32, cap. 6, sect. 22), the carbuncle (lib. 37, cap. 7, sect. 26), the jasper (cap. 8, sect. 37), the sapphire, the hyacinth, and so of all colors (lib. 36, cap. 26, sect. 67). On this point the reader is referred to Galeotti (*Museum, Prefat.*, § 20, p. 22) and Buonarroti (*Osservaz. Istorice, sopra Alcuni Medagl., Prefaz.*, p. 16).—F.

17. It is several years since this vase was in the Barberini palace, it having been sent to England, where it is known under the name of the Portland vase. It was found in one of the largest marble sepulchral urns, still preserved in the Capitoline museum, which, for a long time, was supposed to be the tomb of the Emperor Alexander Severus and his mother, Mammæa. Copies, as well of the vase as of the sepulchral urn, may be found in the fourth part of the *Museo Capitolino* (tav. 1, 2, 3, 4, p. 1); also in Piranesi's *Antichità Romana* (Tom. II. tav. 33–35); of the vase alone, in La Chausse (*Mus. Rom.*, Tom. I. sect. 1, tab. 60–62, p. 42).—F. and GERM. ED.

18. This is the case with the famous, admirably wrought head of Tiberius in the Gem-cabinet of the Florentine gallery. (*Mus. Flor.*, Tom. I. tav. 3.) This head is as large as a hen's egg; and hence it was believed to be cut out of an unusually large turquoise. But it clearly appears, on closer and more careful examination, that the supposed turquoise is not a natural product, but a glass paste.

Statues were also prepared from amber, *electrum*,—a name which was afterwards given to a certain compound of gold and silver. In regard to statues of glass, the reader is referred to Pliny; of iron, to Pausanias and Pliny; of bone, to Arnobius; of lead, to Publius Victor; of wax, to Appian, Ovid, Statius; and, finally, of gypsum, to Pliny, Pausanias, and Tertullian.—F., from Junius (*De Piet. Vet.*).

## CHAPTER III.

1. THE heads only of these figures are given, as the remarks of Winckelmann apply specially to them, the remainder being principally modern. — GERM. ED.

2. Burmann, *Pref. ad Inscript. Gruter.*, p. 3. — GERM. ED.

## BOOK II.

## CHAPTER I.

1. THIS observation should have been used by those who have of late written much on the similarity between the Chinese and the ancient Egyptians. — W.

2. No idea can be formed of the shape of Egyptian heads from engravings, as of a mummy in Beger (*Thes. Brand.*, Tom. III. p. 402), and another, described by Gordon (*Essay towards explaining the Hieroglyphical Figures on the Coffin of an Ancient Mummy*, London, 1737, fol.). — W.

The figure in Beger is not that of a mummy. — L.

3. Herodot., lib. 2, cap. 30. Diodorus (lib. 1, § 67) sets the number at more than two hundred thousand men. He also says (lib. 3, § 3) that the Egyptians, as a colony of the Ethiopians, adopted from the latter the custom of taking great care of the dead body. — F.

4. Herodot., lib. 3, cap. 24. A mummy of this kind was presented by the Cardinal Alexander Albani to the Institute at Bologna; another is in London; and each has its ancient case of preserved sycamore, which, like the bodies, is painted. The third painted mummy is at Dresden, among the royal antiquities. Now, as the faces of all these mummies have the same color, it cannot be maintained, as Gordon wishes, that the London mummy was a person from Nubia. — W.

5. Juvenal, *Sat.* XV. v. 45. Quintil., lib. 1, cap. 2. Juvenal is speaking, not of Alexandria, but of Canopus, a city

lying in the vicinity of Alexandria, of which the licentiousness was extreme. (Juvenal, *Sat.* VI. v. 84. Strab., lib. 17, p. 1153, Princ. Stat. *Sylv.*, lib. 3, cap. 2, v. 111. Senec. *Epist.*, 51.) — F.

6. Chrysostom (*Orat.* II. p. 162) says that only the art of poetry was forbidden, on account of its seductive influence. This statement must, however, be understood with some limitation, since he also says (*Homil.* VIII. in *Matth.*, no. 4) that "Egypt had been for a long time the land of poets." — F.

7. Compare Martini, *Storia della Musica*, Tom. I. cap. 11.

Plato (*De Legib.*, lib. 2, p. 656) says that, from the earliest ages, music had not only been practised in Egypt, but even been defined and regulated by immutable public laws; he had found musical compositions here of so great beauty, that they must necessarily have been created by a god, or by a god-inspired man.

It may be maintained that the Egyptians used musical instruments and sang hymns at all their festivals, even the smallest, as happened, according to Philostratus (*Vita Apollon.*, lib. 5, cap. 42, in *fine*), when the priests accompanied to Upper Egypt the lion, in which, as Apollonius said, was the soul of King Amasis. — F.

8. The monastic mode of life probably originated, not in Egypt, but in Palestine. At least there were monks here earlier than in Egypt, according to the unanimous testimony of ancient authors. — F.

9. Fleury (*Hist. Eccles.*, Tom. VII. lib. 70, cap. 9) does not speak, as Winckelmann thinks, of Lower Egypt alone, but rather of all Egypt; and he puts the number of eremites at seventy-six thousand. Many of them, probably, were not Egyptians. Persons from all parts resorted to this land, where the religious sentiment was held in respect, and where they found more suitable places, partly for leading a recluse life, and partly for escaping the persecutions of the heathen. — F.

10. Among the Greeks in Egypt the Greek Tau had the form of a cross, as it is seen in a very valuable ancient manuscript of the Syrian New Testament, on parchment, in

the library of the Augustines in Rome. This manuscript, in folio, was executed in 616, and has marginal notes in Greek. Among others I notice here the word  $\text{I}+\text{ΔΙΤΕ}$  instead of  $\text{ΗΤΑΙΡΕ}$ . — W.

11. The Egyptians, and most of the important cities of Greece and Asia, for the purpose of obtaining the favor of Adrian, and, through it, benefits and privileges, voluntarily erected temples to Antinoüs, dedicated to him sacred groves, oracles, and priests, stamped coins in his honor, and represented him, in images, under the form and with the attributes of their divinities. (Buonarroti, *Osservaz. Istor. sopra Alcuni Medagli*, cap. 2, p. 25. Bottari, *Mus. Capit.*, Tom. III. tav. 56.) — F.

12. There is no ground for the assertion of a Greek writer of the Middle Ages (Codin., *Orig. Constant.*, p. 48), that human figures were wrought only in a part of Egypt, and that, on this account, the inhabitants were termed *Men-makers*,  $\text{ἀνθρωπόμορφοι}$ . — W.

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## CHAPTER II.

1. AMONG the ancient Egyptian works yet extant, the two Lions on the ascent to the Campidoglio are indisputably the most satisfactory in an artistic point of view. The shape of the beasts is, on the one hand, well conceived, and, on the other, well represented also in compact and very powerful proportions. These qualities, in connection with the quiet position, and extreme simplicity of the outlines, give to the whole a truly grand character. The Lion on the left has been broken into several pieces, and again put together; the other has suffered less. The two Egyptian Lions at the Fontana Felice, on the square in front of the Baths of Diocletian, have just as much repose of attitude and simplicity of outline, but less of grandeur in the whole. Of the great Sphinx in the Borghese villa, it is to be remarked that the head is modern.

Two smaller, better-preserved Sphinxes, — the one of green, the other of blackish basalt, — in the park of the villa above mentioned, belong to the best and most beautiful monuments of ancient Egyptian art. — GERM. ED.

2. The ears are not too high on the heads of the figures on the Obelisk of the Sun, in the Campus Martius, nor on a small figure of an Egyptian priest, of yellow breccia, in the *Musco Pio-Clementino*. In the latter, however, they seem to be set a little too far backward. — F.

3. Winckelmann was undoubtedly wrong when he believed that the feet of the figure of Laocoön were of unequal length. The right leg of the larger boy, from the knee to the foot, is censured as being somewhat longer than the other. It is usual to excuse this, as well as the too great length of the left foot of the Apollo Belvedere, by saying that the artist may have intentionally added so much to these somewhat retreating parts as they would possibly lose to the eye of the spectator by being withdrawn. But we are very much afraid that an arrangement of this kind is a still greater fault than those which it is intended to excuse. For a plastic work in which such a system of enlargement of the more distant parts, and also a consequent proportionate diminution of nearer parts, was introduced, would necessarily, from the derangement of all proportions, present profiles offensive both to the sight and the taste. However, the antique masterpieces in question need no such elaborate exculpation, because the inequality in the length of the legs of the son of Laocoön, as well as in the feet of Apollo, is far more trifling, especially in the latter, than it is usually stated to be. Moreover, in regard to the unequal length of the feet of a few Egyptian statues, the excuse, founded on reasons of perspective, is still less applicable — because art in them is simpler and ruder — than to Greek statues, and it is therefore best to hold the thing for precisely what it is, an error. — GERM. ED.

4. Raffei (*Osservazion. sopra Alcuni Mon. Antic.*, tav. 4, fig. 1, p. 49) holds this kneeling figure (Plate VI.) to be a priest or priestess, showing to the initiated three gold myste-



rious images in a little box, termed by Clemens of Alexandria (*Strom.*, lib. 5, not. 7) *κωμασία*, and by Synesius (*Culvitiū Encom.*, p. 73) *κωμαστήριον*.

Fca, also, supposes these and similar statues to be priests and initiated women, who carried about in processions the statues of the gods worshipped by them, and who were, on this account, named *παστόφοροι*, *shrine-bearers*, or *θαλαμήφοροι*, *bed-bearers*. (Apulej., *Metam.*, lib. 11, pp. 369–371; Id., *De Abstinēn.*, lib. 4, p. 363.) It was usual for such processions to stand still from time to time (Philostr., *De Vita Soph.*, lib. 2, cap. 20; Meurs., *Eleusin.*, Tom. II. cap. 27, p. 534), when the priests, kneeling, probably presented to the people the images of the deities, either to be worshipped or kissed. In this way the Emperor Commodus, who was so enthusiastic in the worship of Isis, was accustomed to carry around the image of Anubis. (Spartian. in *Anton. Carac.*, cap. 9. Apulej., loc. cit., p. 377.)

The engraving of the figure mentioned in the text may be found in Fca. (Tom. I. tav. 6.) — GERM. ED.

5. This statue is neither an Anubis nor an Osiris, but a female figure, probably representing Isis. (See engraving in Fca's translation, Tom. I. tav. 8.) The sex would be more easily recognized, if those who had the charge of restoring the hands, arms, and legs had given to them more pleasing forms. She has, like the figure on the Isiac Tablet (Jablonsky, *Conject. in Tab. Bemb.*, § 7; *Miscell. Berlin*, Tom. VII. p. 380), a cat kind of head, resembling the lion tribe. — F.

6. Two heads of Isis with horns are found on engraved gems in the Stosch Cabinet (Nos. 40, 41), but they are of a later date, and of Roman workmanship. — W.

7. In the Florentine gallery, there is a round pedestal, of grayish granite, wrought smooth only on one side, with a sacrificial procession on it, one of the figures in which actually holds a *sistrum*. This monument, seemingly very ancient, was probably carried from Rome to Florence, but Winckelmann could not have known it. — GERM. ED.

8. Salmasius (*Exercit. in Solinum*, p. 998) infers from a

passage in the poet Grattius, that the linen in Egypt could hardly be sufficient to clothe the priests. Pliny, however, enumerates four kinds of Egyptian linen; and the poet seems to have intended merely to denote the great number of priests. — W.

9. Men and women wore a loosely hanging dress, without a girdle, as even their statues show, except on occasions of mourning, at which time the custom among them was altogether opposite to that of the Greeks. (Herodot. lib. 2, cap. 85.) In order to be able to gird themselves in such cases, they sewed, according to Herodotus (lib. 2, cap. 36), a loop or band under the garment, deviating from the practice of other nations. Girded garments were also used at religious celebrations and processions by the numerous priests and initiated women engaged in them, as may be seen in the *Isiac Procession* in the Mattei palace. (Lens, *Du Costume*, liv. 1, chap. 2.) — F.

10. Egyptian male figures also have very frequently a neck-band hanging down upon the breast; others have a sort of stola; and others still are wholly draped. — F.

The stola was a loose dress which reached from the neck to the ankles; over this was worn the pallium, the blanket or cloak of the Romans. — Tr.

11. According to Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*), the hip-cloth or apron, as well as the usual hood, of male Egyptian figures, is not a cloth arranged in folds, but a striped stuff. In proof of this, he quotes a passage from Plutarch (*De Is. et Os.*), which says: "The priestly and sacred garments of the Egyptians are striped alternately with black and white, in order to signify that, in man's conceptions of the deities, there are many things clear and certain, but many obscure and doubtful." — GERM. ED.

12. In Egypt the royal dignity was hereditary. If there was no successor in the royal family, then one was selected from the priests or warriors. In the latter case, the elected must join himself to the class of priests, in order to be instructed in Egyptian wisdom, but not for the purpose of ex-

ercising the priestly functions. (Platon. *Politie.*, p. 150. Plutarch., *De Is. et Os.*, Princ., p. 354.) — F.

13. This figure, which has gone into the Pio-Clement museum, is not a female, but a male figure, as the shoulders, breast, and hands show. It is probably a Pastophor, who holds in a small box the image of a seated Cercopithecus, a long-tailed ape. The feet are not visible, because there are none; part of the head is a restoration.

14. Now in the Pio-Clement museum. This sparrowhawk is of gray basalt. — F.

15. This figure, wrought from imperfect basalt, or basaltic granite, which on being struck emits a sound, as do all figures executed from a similar stone, passed afterwards into the Pio-Clement museum, and found in Visconti a learned interpreter. According to him, it represents an Egyptian priest of Horus. The bands which go from the cap down beneath the chin — but which are not given in the engravings from the monument — were intended, not to fasten it, but to represent a portion of the false beard tied on, though the beard is no longer clearly to be seen, because the statue has been damaged and restored in this very place. Other grounds corroborative of his opinion, together with the explanation of this remarkable monument, may be read in the *Pio-Clement Museum* (Tom. II. pp. 31–39), in which there is also a copy of it (tav. 16). In Caylus (Tom. II. pl. 7, no. 4) there are two similar figures, confirming Visconti's opinion, one of which has a cap, like that of Aldus Manutius; the other (Tom. IV. pl. 1, no. 5) has a simple cap, very slightly raised, resembling that usually worn by the priesthood in Italy. — F. and GERM ED.

16. Jacob Gronovius (*Præf. ad Thes. Antiq. Græc.*, Tom. VI. p. 9) has, in this place, given scope to his imagination, and represented to himself figures seeming to have their heads covered by the skins of small Maltese dogs, the tails of which stand upwards over the forehead; and he believes that he sees here the true derivation of the word *κυνῆ*, the *helmet*, as being in the most ancient times made of the skin of a dog's head.

On other Egyptian heads we see a lizard instead of a serpent. (Beger, *Thes. Brandl.*, Tom. III. p. 301.) The above-mentioned conceit of this learned man appears still more groundless, when we examine two male youthful Hermæ (Fea, Tom. I. tav. 11, 12) in the Albani villa, which are covered with the skins of dog's heads, as Hercules is with the lion's hide; two paws of the skin are tied around the neck. They probably represent Lares or Penates, the household gods of the Romans, which, as Plutarch relates (*Quæst. Rom.*, p. 176), were imaged with the head thus covered. That most ancient kind and shape of helmet are seen still more plainly on a beautiful Pallas, of life-size (Fea, Tom. I. tav. 13), in the same villa, which wears the skin of a dog's head instead of the usual helmet, in such a manner that the upper jaw together with the teeth lies below the forehead of the goddess. — W.

We are not willing to believe that the skin on the heads of this Pallas and the two Hermæ is that of a dog. It resembles, in all respects, the skin of a lion, as seen on innumerable heads of Hercules, in every kind of monument. And we are authorized to believe that the two Hermæ actually represent this hero in a beardless state, as there is great similarity, even in the features, to those of Hercules on other monuments. — F.

17. In connection with Egyptian dress, a doubt has occurred to me in regard to the antiquity of an ode of Anacreon, in which the Parthians are mentioned, and the tiara or cap as their distinctive mark (Brunck., *Analect.*, Tom. I. p. 112; *Anacr. Carm.*, n. 55): —

Καὶ Πάρθιους τίς ἄνδρας  
ἔγνώρισεν τιάραις;

*And some one recognized the Parthian men by their tiaras.* How did the Greeks become acquainted with the name of Parthians, in Anacreon's time? — W.

18. Pococke's *Descript. of the East*, Vol. I. pl. 61. In Caylus (*Recueil d'Antiq.*, Tom. IV., *Antiq. Egypt.*, pl. 4, no. 4) is a Horus with ear-rings.

Bracelets are seen both on male and female figures. They are placed about the wrist of a male statue which was transferred from the Rolandi museum to the Pio-Clement museum, and mentioned at page 268 (see Plate VII.); also on the Isis in the Capitoline museum, already cited, and on the figure published by Pococke. The Pastophora of green basalt, in the Pio-Clement museum, has arm-bands in form of a serpent. Other figures in Caylus and Montfaucon have them about the upper part of the arm, even indeed about the ankles. Herodotus (lib. 4, cap. 168) also says that the women of the Adyrmachidæ wore iron rings on the legs. Pharaoh gave to Joseph a golden neck-band.

The Egyptians wore rings also on the fingers, as is shown by Ælian (*De Nat. Animal.*, lib. 10, cap. 15), Plutarch (*De Is. et Os.*), and Aulus Gellius (lib. 10, cap. 10), and by several mummies. — F.

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### CHAPTER III.

1. WHEN the author wrote this passage, he had not observed that the two statues of Isis, of basalt, in the Capitoline museum, of which he had just before spoken, actually have hieroglyphs, engraved as well on the base as on the column against which they stand. He afterwards informed himself better on this point also, and in the *Preliminary Treatise to the Monuments*, § 22, he mentioned the hieroglyphs on the statues named, and from this circumstance appears to have changed his opinion in regard to the time when such a mode of writing went out of use. In the paragraph referred to, he disputes not only the Father Kircher, who (*Ædip. Ægypt.*, Tom. III. p. 515) maintains that the practice and knowledge of hieroglyphs were lost from the time of the conquest by Cambyses, but also others, not named, who conjecture that this happened at the commencement of Greek rule in Egypt. It is probable, however, that the knowledge and use of hieroglyphic

writing may have still continued at that time, gradually diminishing as the religion and mythology of the Greeks extended more and more widely in Egypt, and at length entirely ceased. This opinion continues, not only to be admissible in regard to the discoveries which have since been made, but also to receive from them additional confirmation. — F.

2. The obelisk from the Circus of Caius, which stands in front of St. Peter's church, and was erected by the son of Sesostris, who performed no deeds that made him celebrated, appears, for this reason, to be without hieroglyphs, for Herodotus and Diodorus state that the erection of such monuments was a privilege of those kings who had immortalized their names by action. — W.

3. In the first edition, of 1764, page 54, may be seen the following passage: "Of the two former of these statues, the under-garment is visible only by the sleeves, which are denoted by means of a raised edge or prominence; the breasts seem to be entirely bare, so transparent and fine must the texture be imagined." In order not to throw over this passage any more obscurity, which could be cleared only by a view of the statues in question, the editors have thought themselves obliged to retain unchanged the reading of the text in the Vienna edition. — GERM. ED.

4. Maffei, *Raccolta di Stat.*, fol. 148. Now in the Pio-Clement museum. — D.

5. Visconti, who has given a copy of one of these statues in the *Pio-Clement Museum* (Tom. II. tav. 18), and an explanation of it (pp. 41-43), maintains, on the other hand, that these statues did not have, in the least, the features of Antinoüs. They were, originally, an architectonic ornament on the temple of Canopus, at Adrian's villa (Raffei, *Osserv. sopra Alcuni. Ant. Mon.*, tav. 6, p. 60), probably as an imitation of those colossal figures, twelve cubits high, at the entrance of the temple of Apis, in Egypt, — Bearers, Telamons or Caryatides, so called; a supposition which is also rendered very probable by a sort of base on their heads that supplied the place of a capital. For ourselves, we are unable, in this case,



to decide either for or against Winckelmann, because the height at which these two figures have been placed, near a door of the Pio-Clement museum, makes it very difficult to examine the features of the face. This much, indeed, is certain, that the character of the forms of all parts of the body resembles that of the figures of Antinoüs. The resemblance, however, might be viewed less as a portrait-resemblance than as a peculiarity of the predominating style of art in the time of Adrian. — GERM. ED.

6. Warburton's *Essay on Hieroglyphics*, Vol. I. p. 294. The same may be said of Pauw (*Recherch. Philosoph. sur les Egypt. et les Chin.*, Tom. I. lib. 1, p. 45), who, following Jablonsky's opinion (*Specim. Nov. Interpr. Tab. Bemb.*, no. 1, § 5; *Miscell. Berolin.*, Tom. VI. pp. 141, 142), holds this tablet to be a calendar, made in Italy after the Egyptian mode, in the second or third century. Caylus (*Rec. d'Antiq.*, Tom. V. pl. 14, p. 44) looks upon it as an Egyptian work, though of an antiquity not earlier than the Christian era. — F.

7. The term Canopus is applied to vases made of fine clay, which served to filtrate the water of the Nile, and render it clear and fit for drinking, and having on the cover the head of a person or animal. This is the form under which Egyptian mythology seems to have represented Canopus, the god of the water of the Nile. The name is derived from the city of Canopus, near which was found the clay whereof these vessels were made. It is said by the Greeks, that Menelaus, on his return from Troy, stopped at one of the mouths of the Nile to refit, and that whilst there his pilot, named Canopus, was bitten by a viper, and died of the wound. The city was erected over his tomb, and derived its name from him. The deity thus symbolized by the Egyptians was probably the good Genius of the Nile, the Serapis of the temple of Canopus. — TR.

8. This is the most appropriate place to remark, that, in the Pio-Clement museum, there is a large Canopus of valuable white alabaster, the belly of which is covered, however,

not with figures wrought in bas-relief, but with spiral grooves. A small one of terra-cotta, with a belly quite smooth, together with the head or cover of another, also of terra-cotta, is in the collection of Campanian, Etruscan, and other vases in the Florentine Gallery. — GERM. ED.

9. The word Abraxas or Abrasax is applied by antiquarians to a certain kind of engraved gems on which the word Abraxas is sometimes found. The term is intended to signify Mithras or the Sun, who is, in the language of the Gnostics, the lord of the 365 days: the Greek letters in the word Abrasax are supposed to signify three hundred and sixty-five. These gems were much worn by the heathens, and also by many of the early converts to Christianity, as amulets or protectors against disease. The reason of the practice is apparent, if we reflect that the Sun and Apollo were the same, and that Apollo was the god of healing.

These gems are of different sizes and figures; sometimes they are in the shape of finger-rings.

The emblems borne by them are very numerous. On some may be seen the names of saints, of angels, and even of Jehovah; on others, Mithras or the Sun, Isis, Osiris, Serapis, the cock, the dog, the lion, the ape, — in fact, every kind of object which the Egyptians placed among their deities; on others, monstrous compositions of animals, and obscene images, Phalli and Ithyphalli.

The engraving on these gems is rarely good. The reverse, on which is the word Abraxas, is said to be sometimes of a lower and more modern taste than the obverse. The characters are usually Greek, but sometimes Hebrew, or Coptic. The date of them is chiefly of the third century. — TR.

10. Many specimens of Abraxas may be seen in Montfaucon. (*Antiq. Expl.*, Tom. II., part. 2, pl. 144, *seq.*) — F.

11. The statue of Memnon also is quite naked, and without a hip-cloth, like the figures here mentioned. (Fea, Tom. I. tav. 4.) In Caylus (*Recueil*, &c.) several small figures of this kind may be found. — F.

12. This figure (Fea, Tom. I. tav. 14) appears to me to

be that of a priest of a procession in honor of Isis, who, according to Apuleius (*Metam.*, lib. 2, p. 372), was dressed in a white, scant garment, descending from the breast to the feet. From the position, we might believe that it is the one which bore a light. — F.

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CHAPTER IV.

1. INSTEAD of κατὰ τὴν ὀροφήν, read κατὰ τὴν ὀσφύν, (Aristot., *De Histor. Animal.*, lib. 1, p. 14,) ἐχόμενα τούτων, γαστήρ καὶ ὀσφύς, καὶ αἰδοῖον, καὶ ἰσχίον (Herodot., lib. 2, cap. 40), and reflect that κατὰ is never used to signify motion towards, but relation and sequence. Rhodemann's and Wesseling's conjecture of κορυφήν is altogether inadmissible. The ancient reading ὀροφήν comes nearer to the probable correct one. — W.

Winckelmann has fallen into an error here, probably in consequence of quoting from memory. The passage to which he refers has not the slightest application to sculpture. It merely states the sequence of the different parts of the body from the head downwards. The passage stands thus: Μετὰ δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔστιν ὁ αὐχὴν, εἶτα στήθος καὶ νῶτον. . . . . Καὶ ἐχόμενα τούτων γαστήρ, καὶ ὀσφύς, καὶ αἰδοῖον, καὶ ἰσχίον. "After the head comes the neck, then the chest and back, &c. Following these are the belly, and hips, and pubis, and ischium." — Tr.

2. The fact, that the Antinoüs in the Capitoline museum was made in two portions, must be ascribed, not to imitation of the Egyptian style, but rather to the nature of Parian marble, which, according to Pliny (lib. 36, cap. 8, sect. 13) and Isidor (*Etym.*, lib. 16, cap. 5), was not found in very large blocks, as Visconti judges from the Juno Lanuvina, thirteen Roman palms (9 ft. 6 in.) high, which was transferred from the Paganica palace to the Pio-Clement museum; this statue

was originally composed of several pieces, jointed together, of the finest Parian marble. — F.

The remarks made by Visconti, in his explanation of the upper half of a beautiful Bacchus executed in this way, may be applied more appropriately to the Capitoline Antinoüs, consisting of two parts. “For the sake of more convenient carriage, statues were prepared in several pieces, usually in two, those statues especially, as I believe, which were executed at a distance from the place of their destination, for the use or adornment of the palaces and villas of private persons, and in order that they might even be easily transferred from one place to another at the fancy of their possessors. Three female statues in the Capitoline museum, and one which represents the Emperor Adrian in armor, in the Ruspoli palace, are prepared in this manner; and the lower half of all of them, as well as of the Bacchus mentioned above, is lost.” — GERM. ED.

3. Diod. Sic., lib. 1, § 47. But Pococke, in his description of this statue (Vol. I., book 2, chap. 4, p. 289), says that it is composed of five pieces, and the engraving in Fea also shows this. — GERM. ED.

4. Winckelmann’s conjecture is also acknowledged by Fea as satisfactory, from the evidence of a fragment, still remaining beneath the chin of the statue, of the antique ground-surface, which seems to have been concave. Besides, the surrounding part, of modern workmanship, consists, not of marble, but of stucco. — GERM. ED.

5. It is superfluous to remark, that a great scholar, Scaliger (*In Scaligerian.*), and a more modern traveller, Motraye (*Voyage*, Tom. II. p. 225), have allowed themselves to dream that granite is a produce of art. In Spain there is an abundance of all kinds of granite, and it is the commonest rock there. It is also found in Germany and other lands. — W.

6. Montfaucon considers this statue of Isis to be of black basalt; Fea, of basaltic granite. — GERM. ED.

7. The pavement of the most ancient Roman streets, prior to their improvement by Trajan, as the Appian Way, in the

direction of the Pontine Marshes, is of limestone. The Romans made use of the stone which was nearest at hand. — F.

8. It is not an Anubis, but an ape, and probably of the kind described by Aristotle. (*De Histor. Animal.*, lib. 2, cap. 8.) — F.

9. It has since been repaired. Mr. Byres possesses a similar head three inches high, well preserved, and far more beautiful. This, however, as well as that in the Albani villa, also lacks the Modius. — A. and F.

10. This statue was found, nearly forty years ago, in digging the foundations of the Roman Seminary of Jesuits in the Campus Martius, the locality in which the temple of Isis anciently stood; and in the same section (Donati, *Rom. Vet. ac Rec.*, lib. 1, cap. 22, p. 80), though on land belonging to the Dominicans, was found the above-mentioned Osiris with a hawk's head, now in the Barberini palace. The alabaster of that statue is purer and whiter than Oriental alabaster generally, as Pliny (lib. 36, cap. 8, sect. 12) asserts of Egyptian alabaster. The author of a treatise on valuable stones (Giovanni da R. Lorenzo, *Dissertaz. sopra le Pietre Preziose degli Antichi*, Part I. cap. 2, § 23; *Saggi di Dissertaz. dell. Acad. di Cortona*, Tom. I. p. 29) has not got this statement, because he believes it impossible to find any Egyptian statue in alabaster. Moreover, his opinion — that, even if the Egyptians did make statues of alabaster, they must have been very slender, and of the shape of mummies — is restricted by this statue. For the base of it is four and a half Roman palms (3 ft. 3 in.) in length, and the height of the stool on which the figure sits, including the base, to the hips of the figure, is as much. Any one who knows that alabaster is a petrification formed from water, and has heard of the great vases in the Albani villa, ten palms (7 ft. 4 in.) in diameter, can imagine still larger pieces. Alabaster is also formed in the ancient aqueducts of Rome. When repairs were making on one of them, leading to St. Peter's church, which had been built by a Pope some centuries before, a deposit of tartar, a true alabaster, was found

on the inside, and the Cardinal Girolamo Colonna had table-slabs sawed from it. The formation of alabaster can also be seen in the vaults of the Baths of Titus. — W.

Visconti says, in the *Pio-Clement Museum* (Tom. II. p. 39): “The glorious fragment of the seated statue, of alabaster, in the Albani villa, should have been restored with the symbols of Horus, whose color, according to the traditions of the priests, was white.” — F.

11. Lib. 36, cap. 22, sect. 43. — Pliny names this very stone (lib. 36, cap. 8, sect. 13) sienite, from the city of Syene, which lies on the confines of Egypt and Ethiopia. He adds (sect. 14), that obelisks were made from it. It is therefore probable, that the stone called *Pyropœkilos* is a granite, and not a porphyry. From the small specks or white points with which the red color of the granite is intermixed, it is termed *Leptopsephos*. — F.

12. Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. VI. p. 73) disputes Winckelmann’s statement in regard to porphyritic statues of the age of the Ptolemies; he maintains the impossibility of referring to that date, with probability, any one of the works of art now extant; indeed, it might even seem as if the ancients did not begin to make use of this exceedingly hard kind of stone prior to the reign of the Emperor Claudius. From the passages quoted by him from ancient authors, this statement, however, is not made altogether clear; and if a decision should be formed from obvious appearances in existing works of art, then Winckelmann, who is manifestly a better connoisseur than Visconti, is right. For all the characters of the style and taste of different periods, exhibited by the ancient monuments of plastic art, must be unworthy of dependence, and the history of art, in so far as it is based on them, would have little value left, if the so-called *Juno* in the Borghese villa, and the torso of a draped female statue on the ascent to the Capitol, should prove not to have been executed at an earlier date than the time of the Emperor Claudius. — GERM. ED.

13. In the Florentine cabinet of gems is preserved a



mask, or, to speak more plainly, a face, seemingly of ancient Egyptian workmanship. It is nearly of life-size, and is made of a very hard gem, almost like chrysoptase, though of a somewhat feebler lustre, and of a dull color, bordering on leek-green. The eyes are inserted, and are made of enamel, imitating the white and pupils of the real eye. — GERM. ED.

The celebrated Peirese, in one of his unpublished letters to Menetrier of 1632, in the library of the Cardinal Albani, mentions two works shaped like mummies, one of which was of touchstone, the other of a white stone somewhat softer than marble. They were excavated behind, so that they seem to have been the covers of coffins in which embalmed bodies were contained. Both pieces were covered with hieroglyphs. They were brought from Egypt to Marseilles, and the trader to whom they belonged asked fifteen hundred pistoles (nearly \$ 3,000) for them. — W.

14. The mother of emerald is, according to Lessing (*Briefe Antiquar. Inhalts*, Br. 25), nothing else than the Prasius or Gemma Prasina of the ancients. Winckelmann's assertion, that it is the matrix of emerald, is refuted by experience, since emeralds are never found in it. It is difficult, however, to determine what Winckelmann understands by plasma of emerald.—A connoisseur has closely examined the table-slabs mentioned above, and has discovered that they consist of two translucent plates of gypseous mica or fine diaphanous alabaster, placed together,—a green mass or coating having been put between them. The edges are so well preserved and framed, that it is not easy to discover the deception. — E.

15. It is not probable that it is white-lead, because this paint becomes blackish by animal or mineral vapors,—as we see by some modern paintings. We may, therefore, more readily believe that the ground-color on the mummies is chalk, mixed with glue or gum.—F. and GERM. ED.

## CHAPTER V.

1. PROBABLY the Phœnicians never had any statues or bas-reliefs in marble; if they had had either, the Romans would not have failed, after the subjugation of them, to carry to Rome works of art of this kind,—as they did from Etruria, Greece, and Egypt. Even the silence of historians in recounting the plunder collected in Carthage, and in other Egyptian cities, favors this assumption not less than the fact, that, although the number of eminent works of art disinterred in Rome is so large, not a single fragment of a statue or bas-relief has been found, relating to the Phœnician nation. The Romans, it is true, frequently made use of the Numidian or Lybian marble, called at the present day African breccia, yet only in the formation of columns, pavements, and partition-walls (Juvenal, *Sat.* VII. v. 182), because it was unsuitable for statues on account of being irregularly spotted, and of different colors. M. Lepidus was the first to carry such Numidian marble to Rome; he ornamented the atrium of his house with it. (Plin., lib. 36, cap. 6, sect. 8.) The Emperor Adrian caused a hundred pillars of Lybian marble to be carried to Rome, and twenty to Smyrna, for the purpose of decorating the Gymnasia erected by him in those cities. (Pausan., lib. 1, cap. 18; *Marmor. Oxon.*, 21.) — F.

2. Bochart, *Phal. et Can.*, lib. 4, cap. 35; Goguet, lib. 4, cap. 2, art. 1, p. 236. — Sidon was celebrated for its manufacture of linen, tapestry, and costly lawns, for its skill in working metals, in carving wood, and the discovery of glass; Tyre, by the dyeing of cloths, and especially by its discovery of purple-color, and through its works in ivory. — F.

3. Passeri (*Pict. Etrusc.*, Tom. I. p. 21) mentions that vases with Phœnician characters on them, but without pictures, are found in Sicily. — F.

4. The Academy of Cortona possesses several Carthaginian coins of bronze, and two of silver. — F.

5. The Carthaginian coins stamped in Sicily are certainly

very beautiful, and hardly inferior to the best Greek coins. But it would be hazardous to regard them as specimens of art produced by the Carthaginians themselves, and to look upon them as a standard of the taste among this people. For, in all probability, the dies of these coins were made in Sicily, and by Greeks. If this were not the case, then some peculiarity in taste, workmanship, &c. could at least be pointed out. But, as Winckelmann himself observes, they are distinguishable from beautiful Greek coins merely by the Punic writing. Furthermore, admirable monuments of another kind, of Carthaginian origin, or at least accounts of such monuments, must also still be in existence; for it is, if not impossible, yet in the highest degree improbable, that there should have been among the Carthaginians die-cutters of so extraordinary skill, and, on the other hand, neither sculptors, nor founders, nor painters of reputation. The Boethus mentioned by Pausanias cannot be brought into the argument here, because he had lived in Greece, had worked in the taste of the Greeks, and had acquired from them his skill. So, also, an Iceland landscape-painter, and a designer of Calmuck descent (Feodor in Karlsröhe) have recently become famous among us; yet art does not therefore flourish in Iceland or among the Calmucks.

— GERM. ED.

6. There are none of the latter kind in Golzius (*Magna Græcia*); these were found in the Grand-Ducal gallery at Florence, and the royal Farnese museum at Naples. — W.

7. Salmas., *Ad Tertull. de Pallio*, p. 56. — Salmasius rather shows that the Carthaginians were accustomed to wear mantles, and that they had different kinds, double and single, round and four-cornered. He could not, also, be of a different opinion without contradicting Tertullian, on whose book *De Pallio* he intended to comment. — A.

8. The Mosaic Law, it is true, forbade the making of images of the gods for worship, but did not prohibit images of angels, men, and beasts for ornament, or in commemoration. Even Moses himself prepared Cherubim for the ark of the covenant; and Solomon made others, of gigantic size, for the

temple, and also twelve oxen of bronze as a support of the brazen sea, so called. (1 Kings vii. 23.) In later times, the Jews extended the Mosaic Law to every kind of figures. (Origen, *Contra Celsum*, lib. 4, cap. 37.) Flavius Josephus relates that the Jews requested Vitellius not to allow the Roman standards to pass through their country, because they imitated the figures of eagles and other animals. (*Antiq. Jud.*, lib. 18, cap. 4, n. 3.) — F.

9. Bianchini, *Histor. Univ.*, cap. 31, p. 537. — In the rich Russian imperial cabinet of engraved gems there are some very admirable Persian pieces, as we know from casts of them. — GERM ED.

10. The Persian women usually wore two garments, as we may infer from Diodorus (lib. 17, § 35). Among the monuments of Persepolis communicated by Bruyn (*Voyage en Perse*, Tom. II. p. 169) is found a female figure, dressed in a tunic with sleeves, which holds with one hand the hem of a garment. Probably this is the purple tunic called Sarapis by Pollux (lib. 7, cap. 13, segm. 61) and Hesychius. The latter quotes under the word Sarapis a few words of Ktesias, from which he would infer that this garment was common both to men and women. The latter girdled themselves with sashes, which were made with fringes. (*Schol. in Æschyl. Pers.*, v. 153.) Men and women wore expensive shoes, necklaces of jewels, ear-rings, bracelets, and rings on the fingers and joints. (Brisson. loc. cit., lib. 2, § 196.) — F.

11. Brisson (lib. 1, § 46) speaks in detail of the different kinds of caps and coverings of the head of the Persians, and remarks that the kings wore caps running to a point, and the other Persians caps bent forwards. (Lens, loc. cit., p. 192, pl. 29.) — F.

12. Herodot., lib. 1, cap. 131. — Probably, one of the principal causes why the formative arts were unable to attain any special degree of excellence among the Persians was also the limited use of them, as they were employed only in the imitation of warlike and bloody subjects. *Apud Persas*, says Ammianus Marcellinus (lib. 24, cap. 6), *non pingitur vel fingitur*

*aliud præter varias cædes et bella*, "Among the Persians, nothing is painted or imaged but various kinds of death, and wars." Compare Brissonius, lib. 3, § 92. — L.

13. Plutarch, *In Pompeio*, p. 633. — The worship of the god Mithras, a symbol of the sun and fire, originated in Persia, and here he remained the principal divinity until the time of Zoroaster. The horse was sacrificed to him, as the animal which corresponded most nearly to so swift-footed a deity. (Herodot., lib. 1, cap. 216. Ovid, *Fast.*, lib. 1, v. 383. Xenophon, *Cyroped.*, lib. 8, p. 215.) This deity was afterwards worshipped also in Rome, and in other cities of the Roman empire, and especially in Milan (Gruter, *Inscript.*, p. 34, no. 9), as is likewise proved by the bas-reliefs mentioned above. — F.

14. Plin., lib. 34, cap. 8, sect. 19, § 9. — The artists whom Cambyses brought from Egypt to Persia built, according to Diodorus (lib. 1, p. 46), the celebrated palaces of Persepolis and Susa, or embellished them, as Wesseling (*loc. cit.*, not. 80) and Saint-Croix (*Journal des Savans*, Juin, 1765, p. 1277) explain this passage of Diodorus. — F.

15. That the Egyptians and Persians had commercial intercourse with each other may be inferred partly from the fact that the latter held rule over the former for the space of one hundred and thirty-five years (Diodor. Sic., lib. 1, § 44); and partly from many monuments, in which the Egyptian and Persian styles of art appear blended. (*Cayl. Rec. d'Antiq.*, Tom. I. pl. 18, pp. 55, 56; Tom. III. pl. 12.) — F.

16. Palæphatus (*De Invent. Purpure*) relates that the Phœnician kings and other notables of this nation carried small idols on their persons, in order that greater respect might be shown to themselves. — F.

17. According to Adler (*Mus. Cufic. Borgian.*, p. 105), the Druses do not descend from the Franks, but are an Asiatic race, deriving its origin from a Persian of the name of Drusus, who lived about 1017. Their religion is a mixture of Mohammedanism, Christianity, and arbitrary additions. Adler mentions the figure of an ox, covered with characters, which was one of their idols, and is now in the Borgian museum, at Velletri. — F.

## BOOK III.

## CHAPTER I.

1. IN the *Ancient Monuments*, No. 79, the author speaks of five such representations of the hero Echetlus on Etruscan burial-urns, one of which is executed in alabaster of Volterra, and one in marble. In the numerous collection of Etruscan monuments in the Florentine gallery, there are found, besides, no less than eighteen burial-urns of terra-cotta, painted, and all ornamented with this scene. (Montfaucon, *Antiq. Expl.*, Suppl., Tom. V. pl. 57, not. 2. Dempster, *Etrur. Regal.*, Tom. I. tab. 54.) — F. and GERM. ED.

2. Plat. *Polit.*, p. 315. — Plato says, that there was a law among the Etruscans which commanded human sacrifices; but that, in his time, it had ceased to be obeyed, and was acknowledged as wicked. — F.

3. In reply to all this may be adduced the great love of the Etruscans for music, insomuch that they were the inventors of several musical instruments. In all their cities there was a theatre, in which were exhibited not only gladiatorial games and tragedies, but also comedies and pantomimic dances. The climate of Tuscany, at the present day, is not of a kind which predisposes to melancholy. — F.

4. This statement, it is true, is found to be confirmed by many Etruscan burial-urns; yet, it must also be remarked, on many others joyous pictures are presented, as games, dances, weddings, festivals, and similar subjects, as any one can easily convince himself by reference to Gori and others. — F.

5. Fabrett., *Inscrip.*, cap. 6, p. 243, not. 5. — This very scene is found represented in a sort of work composed of many-colored stones, called *Commesso* (Ciampini, *Vet. Monum.*, Tom. I. tab. 24), in the Albani villa. To it alludes, also, a Greek inscription, not yet published, which is on the surface of one half of a column, that has been sawed in two,



in the Capponi mansion at Rome, and from which I will quote only the line which alludes to this representation: *ΗΠΙΑCΑΝ ΩC ΤΕΡΠΙΝΗΝ ΝΑΙΑΔΕC ΟΥ ΘΑΝΑΤΟC*, *The Nymphs, not Death, carried away the beautiful girl.* — W.

6. Montfaucon (*Antiq. Expl.*, Tom. V. pl. 71, p. 123) has not been more successful than others in discovering the true representation of this urn. — W.

7. Dionys. Halic., *Antiq. Rom.*, lib. 7, cap. 72. — On a large rilievo, sawed from a burial-urn, in the Albani villa (copied in Zoega's *Bas-reliefs*, No. 27), are represented a woman seated, and a maiden standing, in a larder, together with gutted animals, hanging up, and other edibles, — a picture similar to the one of which there is an engraving in the *Giustiniani Gallery*: above are the following lines from Virgil (*Æn.*, lib. 1, v. 611): —

“Dum montibus unbræ  
Lustrabunt, convexa polus dum sidera pascet,  
Semper honos, nomenque tuum, laudesque manebunt.”

There was formerly in Rome a sepulchral urn on which was even represented an indecent scene, *Spinthrian*, so called; and the following words of the inscription still remained: *ΟΥ ΜΕΛΕΙ ΜΟΙ*, *It does not concern me.* Something still worse, together with the name of the deceased, may be seen on a work of this kind belonging to the sculptor, Cavaceppi. — W.

## CHAPTER II.

1. APOLLODORUS, lib. 1, cap. 7, § 9. — If, therefore, the phrase *πτεροφόρων σχημάτων*, in a passage of Euripides which has been preserved by Longinus (*De Sublim.*, p. 66), is translated *winged chariots*, the translation is not to be censured, as a critic thinks, and who supposes that he explains it more correctly by *winged horses* (Rutgers., *Var. Lect.*, lib. 1, cap. 10); yet he is in error, for the wings are attributed, not to the horses, but to the chariot. Meanwhile,

the word *πτεροφόρος*, *winged*, is found as an epithet of the chariot of the son of Theseus, used by the same poet (*Iphig. Aul.*, v. 251) to denote its swiftness.—W.

Since Winckelmann wrote this, so many new discoveries of ancient monuments have been made, that representations of winged cars on works of Greek art are scarcely to be considered any longer as objects of rarity. The reader is referred to the *New Collection of Hamilton Vases*, and to Visconti (*Pitture d'un Antico Vaso Fittile Appart. al Sig. Principe Poniatowsky*).—GERM. ED.

2. In the *Ancient Monuments*, the author has explained this figure in the same manner as he has done here. Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. VI. pp. 6 and 85) has shown that the figure with the tongs in its hand originally represented Vulcan, and that only the upper part, which was lost, has become, by unskilful restoration, of a female shape. In the fourth volume of Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, tav. agg.) an engraving of all three sides of this work, together with an account of the restorations, may be found.—GERM. ED.

3. The question, which figure on the Borghese three-sided altar the author particularly intended here, is not without difficulties. In the upper row, near Neptune, stands a goddess, who holds something in her hand, which at the time when Winckelmann wrote, and before the monument had been cleaned, was probably indistinct, and may have looked like flowers. But it is, as can now be discerned without difficulty, ears of wheat, and the figure is Ceres. In the lower row, the first of the three Hours has in her hand a flower with a long stem, unless it may, perchance, be a twig with young fruit. But it is altogether improbable that the author should not have correctly known these three figures, especially as they are wrought on that side of the monument which, even in his day, could be conveniently seen.—GERM. ED.

4. This statement of the author is remarkable, for it presents the point from which we are to judge all his opinions on Etruscan and ancient Greek art; it is also to be viewed as the limit to which he advanced in his knowledge of these

monuments. Many may have more knowledge now in regard to them, but they must also have the modesty to remember that Winckelmann's capital has been at interest for a long time; and since then some additional monuments of the ancient style have been discovered, and others have been studied with more attention. He has, indeed, rendered to antiquarian knowledge one of the most valuable of all services, by removing one of the greatest obstructions; for he checked the previous extravagant prejudices in favor of Etruscan art, and claimed for the Greeks the many important monuments which an antiquated error had adjudged to the Etruscans. In consequence of this view, any further remarks which we may have to make in regard to monuments still included by the author among works of Etruscan art must be considered, not as a contradiction of his opinion, but simply as an advance on the path opened by him. — GERM. ED.

5. Gori, *Mus. Etrusc.*, Tom. II. tab. 155. — The Chimæra of bronze, in the gallery at Florence, diminished, and with omission of modern restorations, may be seen in Plate XI. (after Dempster, *Etrur. Regal.*, Tom. I. tav. 22). The expression of this monster is wild and ferocious. The bones and muscles are rendered with much knowledge, and very powerfully. About the outlines there is, generally, a certain degree of hardness, corresponding well with the character of the whole. The tail terminates in a serpent, which is biting the horn of the goat. A portion of the horn, and the serpent, are modern restorations. On the right fore-foot are a few Etruscan letters, which Buonarroti (*Ad Dempst.*, p. 93) and Gori (*Mus. Etrusc.*, Tom. II. p. 293) read as *tinmcuil*; but Passeri (*Lettr. Roncagl.*, Tom. XXIII.; *Racc. d'Opusc.*, Lettr. 10) as *tinmicuil*. Scholars have given different opinions in regard to the meaning of this writing. It would be very difficult, taking into consideration our deficient knowledge of the Etruscan language, to determine who has given the true signification. — GERM. ED. and A.

6. There are cogent reasons for regarding the Genius, of bronze, in the Barberini palace, as one of the most ancient

works of Greek art, rather than an Etruscan monument. The following characters all accord with Greek works of the old style: the shoulders are very broad in proportion to the whole figure; the chest, though flat, is strongly prominent, and the nipples are not placed far enough to the sides; the hair fits about the forehead like a band of single packthreads lying close together; the thighs and other limbs give evidence of knowledge on the part of the artist, and of an endeavor after a beautiful shape. The high antiquity of this figure seems to be manifest also from the features of the face, which are not handsome; yet they do not therefore denote a portrait, but rather art still in an ungracious state. — GERM. ED.

7. Dempster, *Etrur. Regal.*, lib. 1, tab. 40. — The Haruspex, as he is called, is of full size and standing, has one arm and hand raised, and is conceived as if in act of addressing an assembled multitude. His hair is cropped, he wears shoes, or, if you will, halfboots, fastened with straps in the usual way, as high up as the lower part of the calf of the leg, an under-garment with short sleeves, and over it the mantle, by which the left arm, that hangs down straight, is covered even to the hand; the fourth or ring finger is ornamented with a seal. In the whole of the figure we recognize an image prepared with the utmost fidelity after the likeness of a particular individual, and treated so much in detail, that even the seams of the under-garment are rendered. We therefore acknowledge ourselves to be wholly of the author's opinion, that this statue belongs to the later period of Etruscan art. Its style and taste give absolutely no probable ground for throwing its origin farther back than to an age shortly preceding the time of the first Roman emperors, as we believe we have ascertained by observation. — GERM. ED.

8. The beard of Etruscan figures is not a sure sign of their high antiquity, since, as the author himself afterwards acknowledges, Jupiter, Vulcan, and Æsculapius, in the most ancient Etruscan works, are represented without beard. — A.

9. This Minerva is one of the charming figures that were produced by the cultivated taste of Greek art in the later

period when earnestness and grandeur also had disappeared, and the pleasing had acquired exclusive control. Hence, she is an uncommonly lovely shape; her helmet is very becoming to her; and the robe is thrown with studied elegance about the body and the left arm, which is resting on the side. An engraving of it may be seen in the *Florentine Museum* (Tom. III. tab. 7). — GERM. ED.

10. Olivieri, *Marm. Pisaur.*, p. 4. Gori, *Mus. Etrusc.*, tab. 87. — The Genius, so called, of bronze, in the Florentine gallery, of which an engraving may be found in the *Florentine Museum* (Tom. III. tav. 45, 46), might be regarded as an Iconic statue, erected probably to a young Greek as an honorary testimonial of a victory obtained in the Games. A simple attitude, good proportions, a beautiful shape on the whole, and noble features, give to it especial value. The locks of hair, lying flat one on another, are somewhat stiff and wiry, and the ribs also are rendered a little thin, — characters from which we may infer that this statue was executed prior to the introduction in art of that style whose special aim it was to produce the beautiful and pleasing. — GERM. ED.

11. The Romans, under their kings, were already in possession of this promontory, for Tarquinius Superbus sent a colony thither (Liv., lib. 1, cap. 56); and in the earliest alliance between Rome and Carthage, which was arranged under the first Consuls, Lucius Junius Brutus and Marcus Horatius, Circeum is named among the four cities on the sea-shore, held by the Romans, which they did not wish to have harassed by the Carthaginians. The same condition is repeated in the very same words in the next following treaty between the two parties. (Polyb., lib. 3, p. 180.) Cluverius, Cellarius, and others have not touched upon this. The first league was concluded twenty-eight years prior to the expedition of Xerxes against the Greeks; and the statue in question must, if it were possible for it to be Greek, have been made before this time, in conformity with the knowledge of Greek art. But the Volsci, who occupied the promontory of Circeum (Liv., lib. 2, cap. 39), had no intercourse or commerce, especially



at that time, with the Greeks, though they had with the Etruscans, their neighbors; so that, if we take into consideration only the time and the locality, this Apollo should be regarded as an Etruscan work. — W.

12. This statue was found in a small temple on the shore of a lake, called Lago di Soressa. This lake, which belonged to the house of the Prince Gaetani, formerly discharged itself into the sea through a canal; but the channel having become obstructed, the water for a long time stood very high in the lake. In order to make it convenient for fishing, it was necessary to let the water run off. The ancient canal was cleared out. In it were found a few small skiffs of the ancients, which were fastened with nails of metal; and, when the water in the lake itself was fallen, the temple came in sight; in it the Apollo was found. Even now is visible the marble niche, with very finely executed ornaments, in which the statue formerly stood. — W.

13. *Galler. Giustin.*, Tom. I. tav. 17. — The Giustiniani statue, which is known under the name of the Vestal, has in all its parts something angular, very severe and precise, and consequently little that is pleasing. It may even be objected that it is stiff. The folds of the robe are in perpendicular lines; and, thus, the old Greek style shows itself throughout. Yet it deserves to be remarked of this monument, that it has been finished with especial care, smoothly and accurately. — GERM. ED.

14. The described bas-relief in the Albani villa, the *Rearing of Bacchus by Leucothea*, is unquestionably very ancient, and, in its relation to the history of art, one of the most remarkable monuments. But it has no similarity with any Etruscan work of undoubted genuineness; it is executed from a Greek marble of coarse grain; and it corresponds generally so well with the monuments now acknowledged as ancient Greek, that we have no scruple in holding it to be the oldest known work of the kind. The nose and lips of Leucothea are restorations, and also some of the right hand. Both hands of the child are new. — GERM. ED.



15. Eustathius (*Comment. in Iliad.*, lib. 19, p. 1249) remarks, that it was customary among the Pelasgians to represent Mercury with a beard. He is seen imaged in this manner on divers monuments, even on Roman. (Foggini, *Mus. Capitol.*, Tom. IV. p. 299.) Pausanias (lib. 7, cap. 22) relates that a Mercury with a beard was to be seen in the middle of the market-place at Pharæ, in Achaia. — F.

16. Scaliger (*Poët.*, lib. 1, cap. 14) explained it in this way. Pollux, however, does not in those passages ascribe the beard to Mercury, but to the tragic masks. The epithet *σφηνωπώγων*, *having a wedge-shaped beard*, was used in reference to Mercury in Artemidor (II. 42). — F. and GERM. ED.

17. The round altar in the Capitoline museum, with figures of Mercury, Apollo, and Diana, is Greek, and not Etruscan. And it is by no means ancient Greek, but a later imitation of the ancient Greek style, as we have become convinced by frequent opportunities of studying it. In the features of Apollo we perceive the fully complete ideal of this god. The mouth is not drawn upwards; the elongated eyes are not depressed near the nose; the forms of the body are not meagre, — marks which uniformly characterize works really of a primeval origin. The body and limbs are, on the contrary, of a youthful plumpness, and not without size; and the transitions of one part into another are softly handled. The ear is somewhat lower than it ought to be according to rule; whereas, in monuments of indisputably great antiquity, the ear is usually placed too high. From the workmanship of the hair also, we are authorized to anticipate the later origin of this work, for it is not so wiry as it would have been according to the manner of the most antique style. The handling too of the marble indicates far greater freedom and dexterity. We cannot, consequently, assent to the author's opinion in regard to this monument any further than to admit that it is in the ancient style, but executed by a later artist, as we have seen that, in the times of the Ptolemics and of Adrian, works were finished in the ancient Egyptian style. It might possibly be the case, that the three figures in question were actually

copied from a primeval work, with improvement in character and form. This latter conjecture derives additional probability from the circumstance that there once existed in the Albani villa an ancient monument on which were represented the figures of Minerva, Apollo, Diana, and Mercury, the latter three being almost exactly like those on the Capitoline altar. Mercury is very deficient in the youthful grace, the nimbleness, the lightness, the delicacy in shape and features, in short, in the characteristics which the beautiful style of art has elsewhere accorded to images of this deity. But Winckelmann recollects that, in remote antiquity, this god must also have been represented with a beard. Consequently, it is not to be wondered at, if, in a work imitative of the primeval style, the beard should have been adopted. We observe, however, not less in Mercury than in Apollo of that ideal conformation which is a departure from the genuine antique style. We must not, also, overlook the Paneratiast ear, partly because of its introduction by the artist with appropriate significance, and partly because it has never before been noticed. Diana cannot be seen so conveniently as the other figures, on account of the place in which the monument now stands in the Capitoline museum. But she, too, is shaped ideally, having a grand, almost Junonian character; and the execution appears, generally, to be highly elaborated. — GERM. ED.

18. *Description of Engraved Gems*, Class 2, Div. 16, No. 1720. Such a bow was probably called *patulus*, “open”:—

*Imposito patulos calamo sinuaverat arcus.*

“Having fitted the arrow, he had bent the open bows.”

(Ovid. *Metam.*, lib. 8, v. 30.)

But the other was called *sinuosus* “curved”:—

*Lunavitque genu sinuosum fortiter arcum.*

“And with his knee he forcibly bent the curved bow into a crescent shape.”

(Ovid. *Amor.*, lib. 1. *Eleg.*, I. v. 23.) — W.

19. *Mus. Capitol.*, Tom. IV. tab. 22. In the *Capitoline Museum* of the Marquis Lucatelli (p. 23), it is erroneously stated that this work was found at Nettuno on the sea-shore. The Cardinal Alexander Albani has contradicted the statement

in an autograph note to this work. It formerly stood in a villa, outside of the Porta del Popolo, belonging to the Medici family; and the Grand-Duke Cosmos III. made a present of it to the Cardinal, by whom it was put into the Campidoglio, together with his previously made collection of antiquities. — W.

If we, also, feel inclined to restore this monument to ancient Greek art, we merely express more plainly the author's conjecture in regard to it, since he manifests very distinctly his doubts of its Etruscan origin. But he unquestionably errs in looking upon it as of later workmanship than the square and the round altars — both in the Capitoline museum — of which mention was made shortly before; for the round well-curb in question, ornamented with figures of the twelve superior deities, may be one of the most ancient Greek works. We will present the reasons in confirmation of our opinion, and, for the sake of greater clearness, will illustrate them by an accurate copy of the head and a portion of the figure of Juno (Plate XV.), one of the best preserved figures on the monument. In the first place, much labor and care have been expended on the working of the marble; and it is evident that the artist has devoted his utmost powers to it, although with better success in some points than in others. He had not yet learnt how to handle easily his material, and the effort is visible. But this rude manipulation is in exact correspondence with the equally uncultivated taste, design of the forms, &c. We may consequently presume that the work is actually an original one, regarded at least as a whole, — not an imitation, perhaps, of a more ancient work, — and the production of a good master, and therefore capable of giving us some information as to the state of art at the time when it originated. In the second place, it is very clear, from the conformation, features, and proportions of the figures, that this monument belongs to an earlier age, and to a less cultivated style of art, than the above-mentioned square or round altar, and, on the other hand, is later than the bas-relief of Leucothea in the Albani villa, and may have been executed about

the same time with the three-sided altar in the Borghese villa. It is well known, that, on all antique Greek monuments which formerly passed for Etruscan, the figures are in stiff positions, that the free hands are clasped together, that the fingers are sometimes stuck straight out, frequently somewhat crooked, the garments ample, the folds for the most part straight and lying flat one upon another, &c. Enough has also been said of the rather large mouth and its up-turned corners, of the oblong and not deeply set eyes, the smallish chin, and of the hairs lying near each other like wires or stout threads. But the fact has been more rarely remarked, and never properly appreciated, that, with all the slimness and visibly superfluous length of the figures of this ancient style, still the heads are too large. It was a necessary condition of the progress of art to a higher degree of cultivation, that the doctrine of proportions, as the basis of beauty, only gradually attained exactness. We may therefore infer the higher or lower antiquity of figures on primeval monuments from the greater or less symmetry and good proportion of the parts to each other. For the figures of better proportions will naturally be nearer to the age of more refined taste in art, than those in which the ruder proportions are still exhibited. But, in this as in all other cases, we must beware of one-sidedness, and not despise any one of the other signs which may help us to a better insight into the different ages, tastes, and styles of the ancient monuments. If there are distinctive marks, then it must be conceded that each land, each age, has its peculiar way of impressing itself on the products of art, and consequently there will be a rise and decline in art. Let each monument, therefore, be carefully scrutinized, and a judgment not be formed until all the circumstances have been weighed; but never let the voice of doubt proclaim that it is difficult, even impossible, to determine by the workmanship the age of the early monuments.

It is evident that the back part of all the heads of the Capitoline well-mouth is too small. The ears are set far back,

but are finished, almost throughout, in the most diligent manner, as may be seen, for instance, on the Jupiter, Vulcan, Minerva, and especially Neptune. The last was the favorite subject of the artist. With the exception of the widely opened mouth, and something which seems to be teeth, his mien is good, the forehead and eyebrow-bones tolerably well formed, as are also the other portions of the body; however, neither he, nor Jupiter, nor Mars, nor Minerva, nor several others, although slim in shape, has more than six heads and a half in height,—if the head is assumed as a measure. Vulcan, indeed, has a little more length than this; but in him the ribs are deep, almost to an excess. Apollo, who is still taller, has very long thighs; and hence his figure contains, for a portion of it, seven lengths perhaps; the mouth, somewhat widely opened, is drawn upwards at the corners, and shows the teeth a little. The artist probably made an attempt to represent the god as singing to the accompaniment of his lyre, and failed. Mercury has features nearly resembling the barbaric, and although, like the other figures, he is turned in profile, still the whole eye is visible. His legs look shrivelled; on the other hand, the goat, which he draws after him, is happily done. Mars and Hercules are both young and beardless, as are Vulcan and Mercury. The first is tolerably well shaped, as a whole; the second is represented moving on tip-toe, as if dancing; his mouth is drawn very much upwards, and his eye is almost like that of Mercury. His muscles and sinews are not more strongly rendered; but the artist conceived the laudable idea of letting the hair stick out short, and in small, crisp curls, from beneath the lion's hide. The forehead is high and vigorous.—Among the female figures, Juno appears the most admirable, and is also in the best preservation. The engraving is a satisfactory presentation of her. Cybele, Venus, Diana, and Minerva give no occasion for special remarks. Their proportions are precisely the same as those already pointed out in reference to Minerva.—The whole work is broken into many pieces, and has suffered much on its lower as well as upper edge. The right foot of Juno may be a



modern restoration. All the figures have been more or less injured. — GERM. ED.

20. Pausan., lib. 1, cap. 39. — Pamphos is a poet, according to whom Ceres, after the abduction of her daughter Proserpine, sat, in the shape of an old woman, by a well in the vicinity of Megara and Eleusis. There is no mention in Pausanias of a representation of this subject in stone, near a well. — F.

21. This gem has been described in two treatises by Father Carlo Antonelli, professor at Pisa; that is, he relates anew the entire history of these and other heroes of the time, giving all the passages in ancient authors except those which I shall quote from Statius. In regard to art he had nothing to say. — W.

22. This figure holds in its hand a scraper, with which it seems to be scraping itself. The action is rendered still more probable by comparison with the four figures on an Etruscan cup, also holding scrapers, in Caylus. (*Rec. d'Antiq.*, liv. 2, *Antiq. Etrusc.*, pl. 37.) Two of them are in a somewhat constrained posture, and resemble the figure on the gem in question. Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. I. tav. 13, in fine, p. 23, not. a) believes, not without reason, that Tydeus is represented here in the act of purifying himself from his involuntary homicide of his brother Menalippus, as Hyginus relates. (*Fab.*, 69.) — F.

23. It would almost seem as if Statius had seen this gem; or else all figures of Tydeus must have been drawn in just such a manner, that is, with large and visible bones and knotty muscles; for the language of the poet appears to describe and explain the gem, just as the gem, on the other hand, may illustrate the Poet: —

“ Quamquam ipse videri  
Exiguus, gravia ossa tamen, nodisque lacerti  
Difficiles; nunquam hunc animus natura minori  
Corpore, nec tantas ausa est includere vires.”

*Theb.*, lib. 8, v. 643. — W.

24. *Il. ψ.* v. 140. Pausan., lib. 1, cap. 37. — We will here state briefly whatever remarks we have to make upon



the three engraved gems classed by the author among Etruscan works. Winckelmann's own assertion in regard to the first gem, — representing the *Council of the Five Greek Heroes against Thebes*, — that the writing on it is more like the ancient Greek than that of other Etruscan works, gives rise to the supposition that it may actually be a primeval Greek work, and that probably both the figures of Tydeus and Peleus, of which mention is made, are also of the same origin. Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. I. p. 95) even supposes that he finds in the former the copy of a celebrated work by Polycletus (*destringentem se*, “scraping himself”; Plin., lib. 34, cap. 8, sect. 19). But, in opposition to this assumption, it should at all events be stated, that the gem must be older than the work of art of which it is supposed to be a copy. We hold it, however, to be difficult, indeed quite impossible, to point to figures of similar art and kind in other works of unquestionable Etruscan origin; whilst, on the other hand, it could be easily done in regard to ancient Greek monuments. We must also add here, as a remark of general application, that engraved gems are truly valuable monuments, that we are indebted to them for the preservation of a great number of admirable conceptions, and that the good and best among them have, besides, excellent characteristics in regard to the skill of execution; but in investigations into the state of art, as to the date, style, and taste, it would not be well to assign to them great weight in proof. From the smallness of their size, the characteristics never stand forth with sufficient distinctness. Better deductions on these points will be obtained from coins; but the larger bronzes and works in marble are always to be preferred even to these. — GERM ED.

## CHAPTER III.

1. THE Consuls cited by Dio Cassius are Lucius Cæsar, L. Marcius, and C. F. Figulus, whose consulship happened in the year 690 of the foundation of Rome. The historian mentions that the she-wolf was in the Capitol; so too Cicero, in his third *Oration against Catiline*; and both assert that she was struck and tumbled over by lightning. Such a thunderbolt would necessarily have produced some other effect than a simple rent or injury to the thigh. Cicero (*De Divinat.*, lib. 1, cap. 12; *In Catilin. Orat.*, 3, cap. 8), in the words, *Hic silvestris erat Romani nominis altrix*, "Here was the forest-nurse of the Roman name," leads us to anticipate that she was no longer in existence in his day. Of the child which represented Romulus he says, in the *Oration* cited, *fuisse meministis*, "you remembered that it was." Nardini (*Roma Antica*, lib. 5, cap. 4, p. 200) and Ficaroni (*Le Vestig.*, lib. 1, cap. 10, p. 37) have not given heed to these words, since they believed that this she-wolf was in the Capitol even at the time when they wrote.

The other she-wolf, the one mentioned by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, was made, in the year of Rome 457 (*Liv.*, lib. 10, cap. 16, not. 23), by direction of the Ædile Curules Cneus and Quintus Ogulinus, from fines which had been levied upon certain usurers, and, as a memorial of the two founders of the city, who had been suckled by a she-wolf, was set up in that temple. This was probably the Capitoline she-wolf, as it is called. Fulvius Ursinus (Nardini, *loc. cit.*) is also of the same opinion. She too was, perchance, afterwards struck by lightning, if the injury, or, more correctly, the injuries, — which are found on both thighs, — are not ascribable to another cause. — F.

We dare not, indeed, presume to decide upon the disputed point, which of the two she-wolves mentioned by authors may be the one now present in the Capitol; but observation shows us a stiff, angular style of drawing in this monument. The

hair about the neck is, as it is usual in primeval works, but slightly raised, and arranged in rows; the manner throughout is rude, and somewhat awkward, yet not without spirit and stern expression. A work of art of such a character, even though of Etruscan workmanship, can hardly have originated in the year 457 of the building of Rome, coinciding nearly with the one hundred and twentieth Olympiad. The injuries on the hind legs of the animal are plainly to be seen, and certainly render it probable that it is the very same one which was once struck by lightning. — GERM. ED.

#### CHAPTER IV.

1. BAS-RELIEFS, or rather fragments of bas-reliefs, in terra-cotta, and painted with different colors, were found in the year 1774 at Velletri; and they were considered to be Volscian works. The drawing of the figures is stiff; their shape is slender; and the faces have barbarously rude features. These monuments represent chariot-races and other subjects, and seem in reality very ancient. The manner or style resembles the most nearly the black profile-kind of figures on the oldest painted vessels of terra-cotta. Fea, who has had one of these fragments engraved (Tom. III. p. 5), likewise recognizes their similarity to the paintings on the most ancient Greek vases, and conjectures that they might possibly be copies from better originals, — a point which we are not willing to decide. I have also to notice, that a small work, under the title, *Bassi Rilievi Volsci in Terra Cotta* (1785, fol.), has been published, with colored engravings, for the purpose of explaining the monuments, looked upon as Volscian works, which are at present in the Borgia museum at Velletri. — GERM. ED.

2. Not the whole camp, but a space set apart, in the middle of the camp, was, not surrounded, but covered, like a tent, with linen cloths, over the dimensions stated. One legion, consisting of sixteen thousand men, was termed *linteata*,

not because they were dressed in linen, but because each individual of it was required to take a solemn oath of fidelity in this place covered with linen cloths. — F.

3. I will remark here, that five Greek inscriptions were afterwards discovered on a beautiful vase in the Grand-Ducal cabinet at Florence, — an engraving of which was published by Dempster (*Etrur. Regal.*, tab. 62, 63), and also by Passeri (*Pict. Etrusc.*, Tom. I. tab. 58, 59), — after it had been cleansed by washing.

Of these inscriptions, or rather superscriptions, of some figures painted around the upper part of the vase, Visconti (*Mus. Pio-Clem.*, Tom. II. p. 62, not. b) has given a learned explanation, and has also introduced in a supplementary plate a copy of the vase itself and of its pictures. We must however remark, that, at the time when there was still a strong belief in the Etruscan origin of the painted vases, they seem to have been studied only in a hasty manner. But since they have come into increased esteem as works of art, — and great numbers of them have been recently discovered, and more interest generally has been awakened in regard to such monuments, — so many of them with Greek inscriptions have also become known, that they are hardly to be classed any longer among antiquarian rarities. Indeed, it would hardly be possible to find a considerable collection of vases which could not show one or more with a Greek inscription. — GERM. ED.

4. Fea, who does not willingly let an opportunity pass of defending against Winckelmann the Etruscans and those who have written in their favor, here again quotes Guarnacci (*Orig. Ital.*, Tom. II. lib. 7, cap. 1, p. 305), who says: “A part of these vases were collected by Cardinal Gualtieri himself, but the larger portion were a gift to him from Signore Bargagli, at that time Bishop of Chiusi, the place in which they were found.” We are unable, indeed, to determine how much credit may or may not be given to the statement of Guarnacci in regard to the Gualtieri vases, — which afterwards went into the Vatican Library, — to the prejudice of what Winckelmann asserts concerning them. We must, however, admit that the

ocular evidence is very much in Winckelmann's favor. For in the Vatican collection just mentioned there are found, with the exception of the vase to be seen in Passeri (*Pict. Etrusc.*, Tom. III. not. 297), on which is a hovering, black, winged Genius, only a very few painted vases which could really pass for Etruscan, or which visibly differ from those which are brought from Naples and are of Greek workmanship. — GERM. ED.

5. As the author has made mention of all large collections which were in existence at his time, or were known to him, it seems proper that we should present a brief notice of the collections, known to us, which were either formed in his time, but had escaped his observation, or which have been brought together since. We will, however, make the preliminary remark, that the Hamilton Collection mentioned by Winckelmann, and published by D'Hancarville, was transferred by its owner to the British Museum, for the sum of eight thousand pounds.

Mr. Hamilton afterwards made at Naples a new and still more considerable collection of painted vases, of which drawings were executed under W. Tischbein's supervision, and explanations furnished by the Chevalier Italsky. The work was published in four folio volumes. This collection also was destined for England; but a portion of it was lost by shipwreck: the remainder was sold in London, for forty-five hundred guineas, to Mr. Hope, who is said to be the possessor of more than fifteen hundred such vases.

In Naples there were formerly two collections, which probably still exist. One of them is the royal collection, quite considerable both for the number and size of the vases. It was, at one time, arranged in a special room in the Gallery at Capo di Monte. The other belongs to the Vivengio family, at Nola, and may amount to about three hundred good pieces, all of which were found about the city named.

The Museum of the Institute at Bologna possesses a number of painted vases, several of which are good.

According to Millin's account in the *Musée des Arts*, there are in France fifty very admirable vases, and an equal num-



ber in the manufactory of porcelain at Sévres. The same antiquarian gives, in the work cited, a more circumstantial account of a collection belonging to M. de Parois, which contains more than five hundred pieces; he has also furnished engravings and explanations of several remarkable pieces in it. (*Monumens Antiq. Ined.*) Frequent mention is made of a collection, probably of considerable size, which was formed at Malmaison by the Empress Josephine; and in Millin's *Peintures de Vases Antiques* are copies of several beautiful vases which it contained.

Germany cannot boast of any great wealth in painted ancient vases. The sole large collection is that of Count Lamberg, in Vienna, which he formed when he was Austrian Ambassador at Naples, in 1780. In the Museum of Antiques at Dresden a few of such painted vases are to be found, and among them three or four with remarkable representations. A few, also, are preserved in the ducal library at Weimar, which were brought from Italy by the late Duchess Amelia. Among them, however, there is only one deserving of notice, on which is a picture of the rape of Cassandra. — GERM. ED.

6. D'Hancarville, on the contrary, believes that the small vases were not playthings merely, but that they were sacred utensils in the Lararia or house-chapels of the ancients, as the larger vases were in the public temples. — F.

7. In a hall of the Studii at Naples is found the vase of Vivengio, as it is called, which represents the misfortunes of the family of Priam. It is of extraordinary beauty of form, ornament, and painting. It was found enclosed in another earthen vessel of coarser quality. — GERM. ED.

8. *Nem.* 10, *Epod.* β, v. 68, Ἐν ἀγγείων ἔρκεσιν παμποικίλοις, *In cases, painted of various colors, for containing vases,* to which the Scholiast adds, in an explanatory manner, ἐξωγράφηντο γὰρ αἱ ὑδρίαί, *for the water-pitchers were painted with figures.* — W.

These Greek words are very much distorted in the Vienna edition and in the French translation of 1802. The passage itself has been misunderstood even by the Scholiast. The poet



is speaking of a vessel of baked clay, filled with oil, in an artistically wrought brazen case.—S.

9. D'Hancarville maintains that the large, beautiful, and painted vases were votive offerings, hung up in the temples, and there serving as ornaments. The objection to this is, that all the vases, without any exception, have been taken from tombs; and it is difficult to conceive how they could come there from the temples. The conjecture proposed by more modern inquirers is, that they were given to youths as memorials, when they put on the manly robe and were initiated into the mysteries of Bacchus, and were afterwards deposited in their tombs. This supposition is certainly a more acceptable one.—GERM. ED.

10. Many trials have been made, and many mixtures proposed, to imitate the blackish-brown color with which the ancient vases are painted. The arts of fabrication, however, are precisely the point in which we are superior to the ancients. But their whole life was penetrated by art and taste; and in the most trifling monuments, beauty and grace unite in the most pleasing manner with appropriateness. In short, an animating breath has been breathed by art into everything which originates from refined antiquity. Herein is the deficiency of our time; let us seek to supply it.—GERM. ED.

11. To vases painted with several colors, the delicate, variegated colors were not applied until the vase had been once baked. This is the reason why they have not usually united firmly with the clay, for they fall off easily in scales, or can be scratched off.—A.

12. A rogue named Pietro Fondi succeeded in counterfeiting these vessels. He resided generally at Venice and Corfu; many pieces of his workmanship remain in Italy, but most of them have gone to foreign countries. This is the same man of whom Apostolo Zeno speaks in one of his letters. (*Lettere*, Vol. III. p. 199.) The deception is, however, easily discovered, even by those who have no great knowledge of drawing; the clay used in them is coarse, and the vases are consequently heavy. On the other hand, the vases of the ancients

are made of an uncommonly pure clay, and their smoothness seems as if it were blown upon them; in the others, the contrary is the case. — W.

In the *Notes to the History of Art*, the following memorandum occurs: —

“I have seen some few of the modern counterfeits of this kind among the genuine vases of Count Simonetti in Rome, which were likewise collected in Nola. The vases are either ancient in themselves, the deception being confined solely to the figures on them, which are produced by rubbing off the antique black polish, in which case they have a yellowish color, the color of the baked clay itself; or they are entirely new, and painted with oil-colors; the latter kind is also distinguishable by its weight in comparison with the lightness of the antique. If a person has no chance to make the comparison, then the drawing of the figures affords in each case an accurate means of distinction. On one of the vases mentioned is introduced a Chinese figure with a halberd in its hand; and on another, a narrow cloth is thrown about the belly of a male figure, after the manner of more modern pictures. — W.

The Vasari family at Arezzo, and other manufacturers in Italy and England, had counterfeited such vases. In the Grand-Ducal collection of painted vases, in Florence, some imitations by the former may be found. (Lanzi, *Giornale de' Letterati*, Tom. XLVII. Art. 1, p. 166.) — F.

13. Plaut. *Pœn.*, Act 5, Sc. 5, v. 34. Quintil., lib. 1, cap. 5. — It was a shaggy garment, worn by the ancient Etruscans, Sardinians, and other nations. (Dempster, *De Etruria Regali*, Tom. I. lib. 3, cap. 54.) — F.

14. The marble of Luna, also called the Ligustic (Serv. *ad Æn.*, lib. 8, v. 720), surpassed the most beautiful kinds of white Greek marble in whiteness at least, if not in hardness. (Plin., lib. 36, cap. 5, sect. 4.) Nevertheless, no Etruscan work of the more ancient style has been found, made of this marble; hence it might be inferred with probability, that it was unknown to the ancient Etruscans, whatever Fea may object to the inference, and however little his expla-

nation may agree with Pliny's use of language (*loc. cit.*). Mention is made by Pliny (*lib. 36, cap. 6, sect. 7*) and by Strabo (*lib. 5, p. 349*) of this same marble.

Among the many buildings in Rome constructed of this marble, the temple of Apollo, erected by Augustus on the Palatine Hill, was specially pre-eminent. (*Serv. ad Æn., lib. 8, v. 720.*) — GERM. ED.















